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BY

MARGARET ALDEN, M.D.

SOCIAL SERVICE SERIES No. 6

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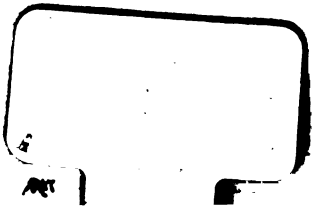

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SOCIAL SERVICE HANDBOOKS

No. 6.

CHILD LIFE AND LABOUR

BY

MARGARET ALDEN, M.D.

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PREFACE.

It seems almost necessary to offer an apology for a new book on the question of Child Life, since so many have been issued of late, but the special object of this series is, to afford information on social subjects, in a cheap and compact form, and in some respects this handbook will be found to supplement publications already in existence.

So far as practicable, all statistics have been brought up to date, and all recent legislation has been included.

The list of societies and bibliography will be found useful both to social workers and to students.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the British Institute of Social Service, for the Appendices; to Mr. E. Hayward, M.A., for the index; to Mr. G. P. Gooch, M.P., for reading the proofs; and especially to my husband for the large amount of assistance he has rendered me.

MARGARET ALDEN.

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CHILD LIFE AND LABOUR.

CHAPTER I.

AN HISTORICAL RETROSPECT.

"Only the narrowest and most prejudiced survey can be blind to the evils and the antinomies of modern life. Immeasurable tracts of wealth go cheek by jowl with wastes of immeasurable poverty. We have playgrounds where there are no longer children, and we have children where there are no longer playgrounds. We have proved the command of man over nature, but only to demonstrate the tyranny of man over man."—REGINALD A. BRAY.

THE nation that first recognises the importance of scientifically rearing and training the children of the commonwealth will be the nation that will survive. Unless due attention is paid to the young life which will one day govern and maintain an empire, we shall speedily fall behind in the competitive struggle. Few people will be inclined to admit that England is on the down grade, and yet other mighty empires have perished in the past. The question as to whether we are degenerating as a race is still *sub judice*, and perhaps the most hopeful sign of the times

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is the increased interest in every problem that affects the life of the child. It is strange to think that Plutarch and Plato and many another ancient philosopher attached far more importance to the nurture and education of children than the average Englishman with a thousand years of experience to guide him. He has been too content with the growth of material wealth, with the extension of empire as measured in square miles, and has forgotten that empire-building is an impossible task unless the children who will one day rule are fully developed from a physical, mental, and moral point of view. Campanella in his "City of the Sun," advocates the handing over of the children to the magistrates for instruction on the plea that parents, for the most part, educate their children wrongly. It is to be feared that the average magistrate is not much better than the average parent, and what is wanted is that far more serious attention should be given to child problems on the part of the State as a whole than has been bestowed on these questions in the past. Our indifference is largely the heritage of previous generations. Nothing dies more hardly in England than tradition and custom—the tradition that an Englishman's home is his castle; that a man may do what he likes with his own; that his children are his own, and he can therefore, if he chooses, sell them to an employer to work for a scanty wage at the earliest possible age; that the employer on his part can, if the parent is so willing, be allowed to work the child for long hours and subject him to the harshest possible treatment without interference on the part of any authority. The sacredness of parental rights forbade interference. The im-

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portance of maintaining and encouraging trade and commerce equally forbade any action on the part of the State in the interests of the child.

These traditional beliefs and customs have not wholly died out, but they are slowly and surely making way for a saner attitude towards the child, that must eventually have far-reaching results. When the late Queen came to the throne there was not one single Act standing on the statute book that could be said to have been framed in the interests of the children. The child had no rights, and those who were in authority over it had no duties save such as were self-imposed. Since that time all the defences of callousness, cruelty and ignorance have gone down one by one, and now only a few isolated forts are left standing, and these too, we trust, will yield to the attack which enlightened reformers of the present generation are making upon them.

The Child and the Industrial Revolution. Up to the end of the eighteenth century it would not be unjust to say that practically no consideration whatever had been given to the child, except on the part of a few philanthropists, and not even a beginning of legislative work for the welfare and education of children had been made. But with the end of the eighteenth century commenced the industrial revival which grew rapidly and brought with it a corresponding increase of population in large towns. The effect of the industrial revolution is too well known to need description, but amongst the new and complex social problems which arose was the question of a sufficient supply of cheap labour for the new industries which were being started in all directions in the manufacturing districts. Choosing the line of least resistance,

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our statesmen, our administrators, our employers, turned with one accord to the child, who was consequently engaged in large numbers. The old Poor Law, instead of mitigating the evil of such labour, increased it, for it distinctly put a premium on illegitimacy, and it allowed Boards of Guardians to supply to factory owners little children of the immature age of five, six and seven years, making a small charge to the employers and so reaping a profit instead of incurring, as would otherwise have been the case, in their view, a dead loss. From all parts of the country these unhappy children were despatched to the large manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, where as apprentices they were subjected to the practically unlimited power of overseers and owners, condemned to a toil that was in some respects worse than slavery. Parents as well as local authorities rid themselves of encumbrances in this way, and there is a notable instance of a number of children being sold as part of a bankrupt's property. One London parish made an arrangement to supply a factory in Lancashire with children on the distinct understanding that an idiot child was to be taken with every twenty mentally sound children. The average number of hours worked by these gangs of little children was from twelve to fourteen, but frequently sixteen or eighteen hours was the period during which quite little children were engaged in unhealthy labour. Naturally the death rate amongst these children was very high, and even where they did not die, the effect of the hard labour for excessive hours, the unhealthy air of the factory and the bad or insufficient food, was an enfeebled and wretched maturity: so much

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so, that when the apprentice got his release at manhood, he was often quite unfit to continue the struggle for existence.

The Factory Acts. The first Factory Act (1802) laid down regulations with regard to the employment of these apprentices. Up to that time there was no system of control and inspection, and many children were worked to death by their masters or by the overseers. Sir Samuel Romilly says in his diary that he had known cases when apprentices had actually been murdered by their masters in order to get fresh premiums for new apprentices. This Act did, to some extent, remedy the special evil complained of, which was, however, not confined to the employers of apprentices, but found in cotton mills employing children generally. Those who advocated reform and factory legislation usually pointed to some special evil which needed to be rectified, but for a long time there was no claim or attempt to control industry as a whole.

Following on the Act of 1802 was that of 1819, which legislated for two classes—children under nine whose employment in cotton-spinning was prohibited, and children from nine to sixteen whose employment was restricted to twelve hours. This Act, which applied only to cotton mills, was due to the report of a Committee appointed on the instigation of Sir Robert Peel the elder, who brought the question of the hours of labour before the House of Commons in 1815. The evidence showed that the children worked fifteen, sixteen, or even seventeen hours, and sometimes all night. Amongst the evidence it is interesting to note that Robert Owen, the cotton spinner and socialist, stated that it was a common

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custom to employ children at six years old, and keep them from six in the morning until seven at night. He employed, he said, no children under the age of ten years, and only ten hours in all, including one-and-a-quarter hours for meals. He expressed the wish to make a further reduction of hours, and stated that manufacturers would not suffer by competition as a result, either at home or abroad. He pointed out that the reduction of hours had resulted in a greater proportion of output.

The Act of 1833, due to Mr. Oastler and Lord Ashley, following the Report of the Sadler* Commission, affected all textile industries except silk factories. Children from nine to thirteen could only be employed nine hours a day; it also regulated the labour of "young persons" from thirteen to eighteen. One effect of this Act was that young persons whose work was regulated were displaced by women who were not subject to any regulation, while in many respects the Act was inoperative, the restrictions being disregarded by the employers.

Failure of Earlier Acts.

The *Times* of June 28th, 1838, pointed out that half the children working with the surgeon's certificates as being thirteen years of age, were evidently not twelve or even eleven; that convictions only resulted in half-a-crown fines; that inspectors very seldom visited the factories, and usually gave notice of their visits; that some employers failed to include meal times in the nine hours, and that the clocks were often

* Mr. Sadler introduced a Ten Hours' Bill for Children in 1831. He unfortunately lost his seat for Newark at the next election.

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tampered with in order to obtain more work from the children. In March, 1840, Lord Shaftesbury again brought forward the question of regulating child labour, and a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the operation of the Act of 1833. The ultimate result of the publication of this report was the Factory Act of 1844. By this Act a factory office was established in London to which a notice was required to be sent as to the opening of a new factory. Provision was made for the granting of certificates permitting children between eight and sixteen to work, for the proper inspection of factories, for the securing of sanitary conditions, for inquiring into accidents, and for proper school attendances. No child under thirteen was allowed to work more than seven hours on successive, or ten hours on alternative days.

Child Labour in Mines. Lord Shaftesbury then set himself to redress the grievances of the children employed in coal mines. He obtained a Commission of Inquiry in 1840, and the report was published in May, 1842, notwithstanding the efforts of the Home Office to keep it back. It was a shocking revelation as to the brutal treatment of young children in the mines. The Report shows that for long hours women and children, including little girls, were engaged in filling the waggons and dragging the coal under the very worst possible conditions. Boys and girls, men and women, often worked together under circumstances inimical to all sense of decency. The girls dragging the coal wore a chain, which fastened to a belt round the waist, and was hooked on to the car. In this way, by crawling on all fours, they dragged the waggon along the narrow

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passages. Boys and girls of even three and four, were used for some purpose or other in the mines, and practically never saw the daylight except on Sundays. Finally, after much agitation, the Mines and Collieries' Regulation Act of 1842 was passed. It was repealed by the later Act of 1872, and that in its turn by the Coal Mines' Regulation Act of 1887, which provides that "no boy under the age of twelve years, and no girl or woman of any age shall be employed in or allowed to be, for the purpose of employment, in any mine below ground." In the case of boys between twelve and sixteen employed below ground, the maximum number of hours must not exceed ten in one day or fifty-four in one week.

Restriction of Child Labour in other Industries. The Children's Employment Commission which reported first in 1863 and then again in 1864, went to show that the factory extension movement had left large branches of work entirely free from all regulation, and it instanced the manufacture of lace and fustian, quoting cases in which long hours were worked by comparatively young children. Very largely as a result, the Factory Acts Extension Act and the Workshops Act of 1867, were introduced on the initiative of Mr. Walpole. He stated on that occasion "The report of the Commissioners convinced me that the evils incident to the employment of women and children in these trades (referring to lace, hosiery and wearing apparel trades), are unfortunately greater than the evils which have been found to exist in many of the factories already under inspection." He goes on to say, "I am sorry to add that we find these evils are aggravated in

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tenfold degree in the small workshops where children are found at work."

The Act of 1874 again placed further restrictions on the work of children, and in 1878 the Factory and Workshops Act was passed, amended in 1883, 1891 and 1893. The amending Act of 1891, passed largely as a result of the interest aroused by the disclosures of the Lords' report on the sweating system, raised the minimum age of children's employment to eleven years, and prohibited the employment of women for one month after the birth of a child. Finally, on August 17th, 1901, was passed the amending and consolidating Factory Act, which, deficient as it is in many respects, is none the less a sort of workers' "Magna Charta."

Up to the present we have dealt with the children engaged in purely industrial undertakings, but the sufferings of children in other classes of the community were no less painful. Charles Kingsley's "Water Babies" has made us familiar with one class. The Report of a Select Committee in 1817, dealt with the indescribable cruelties inflicted upon boys and girls of tender years who were chimney sweepers. Lord Shaftesbury again took up the cause of the oppressed children, and some Acts of Parliament were passed which failed of their effect because it was thought that children were able to take the necessary steps to vindicate their rights. Finally, however, in June, 1864, Lord Shaftesbury succeeded in passing an amending measure, and in 1875, after a century of agitation, (dating back to the work of Jonas Hanway in 1760,) a Bill was passed which removed this dark stain on British civilisation. He also called attention, in 1865, to the employment

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of children in agricultural gangs. The Commission of Inquiry reported in 1867-9, and the evidence showed that Lord Shaftesbury had in no way exaggerated the sufferings of these little child slaves who worked in rural districts at agricultural labour. The death rate was enormously high, three times as high as that of the surrounding population, and the workhouses and hospitals were full of pitiful cases resulting from this iniquitous system which the Act of 1867 finally ended. In the same way the Factory and Workshops' Act of 1871 relieved the 30,000 children, mostly girls, from three-and-a-half to seventeen years of age, who laboured in brickfields, of some portion, at any rate, of the undue burden which had been placed upon their tender shoulders.

Limitation of Parental Rights. In all the measures which have been so far described, the effect of State action was to impose certain conditions upon child labour, and to restrain the employer in any attempt to exploit the work of little children, but none of these Acts took any account of the obligations which the parent had towards his child. It had always been taken for granted that any man might do what he liked with his own child, and the result was that, where parents were inhuman, criminally careless or neglectful, the suffering of the child was terrible. Gradually responsibility has been placed upon the shoulders of the parent. So far from weakening parental responsibility, the action of the State as "over parent," to use the term of Mr. H. G. Wells, has done much to create what before only existed in theory. This is not the place to detail the horrible cruelties inflicted by parents upon their children, nor is it possible to describe fully

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the various steps by which the rights of children as citizens were safeguarded. The only law which protected the child from its parents for many years was the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1868, which provided punishment if the child's health were seriously injured by the neglect of his parent to supply food, proper clothing, etc. But as the Magistrates held in most cases that serious injury to health must be the result of some very definite specific kind of neglect which brought the child near to death's door if not actually to death, the Act was a very poor weapon in the hands of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, which in 1884 came to the rescue of these little ones.

National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children. The London Society (for at first its operations were confined to London), set itself to collect facts which would prove the necessity for further legislation, to agitate for such legislation, and to enforce the laws then in existence. In 1889 the London became the National Society, and its five years of work and agitation resulted in the passing of the children's charter in 1889. For this Act England has to thank men like Mr. Mundella, Lord Herschel, Sir Henry Fowler, and Sir Richard Webster.

This new Charter affected the law in the following ways :—

(1) It made the parents responsible for all forms of ill-treatment and neglect.

(2) It allowed a child to give evidence, even though it did not understand the nature of an oath.

(3) It allowed the innocent parent to give evidence against the guilty one.

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(4) It allowed any two Justices of the Peace who had convicted a parent of offence against his child to take from him the right of custody of that child.

(5) It provided facilities for making inquiries into suspected cases of cruelty, if necessary entering the house of the parent, which had previously been an illegal act.

It is difficult to speak with moderation of the state of things that existed before the operations of the Society began to have their effect; but even so late as 1905-6 the inspectors of the Society, who are 198 in number, inquired into 38,705 cases, of which 37,213 were regarded as having justified the investigation. The number of cases in which a warning was given was 31,735, while in 2,199 cases prosecution was necessary. The need for the Society is shown by the fact that in all but seventy cases convictions were obtained.

Legislation affecting the Infant. It remains in this brief sketch of legislation and reform affecting child life to say a few words about the infant, to whom the work of the National Society has been of immense value.

It is only during the last fifty years that there has been any real attempt to deal with the neglected infants of the State. The death of an infant that was obviously due to criminal neglect or ill-treatment on the part of its parents could, of course, be punished. The question of dealing with illegitimate children, which involved far and away the greatest cost in child life, remained undealt with until 1871, when restrictions were placed on the baby-farming traffic. Infant mortality which is due to ignorance is hard to combat, but for a long while even the extraordin-

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ary death rate of illegitimate children was regarded as being beyond the bounds of any action by the State. Finally, however, the Committee appointed to inquire as to "the best means of preventing the destruction of the lives of infants put out to nurse for hire by their parents" in a strong report pointed out that, under the unnatural conditions which prevailed, these illegitimate children had no chance of life. The Committee added that "improper and insufficient food, opiates, drugs, crowded rooms, bad air, want of cleanliness and wilful neglect are sure to be followed in a few months by diarrhœa, convulsions and wasting away." As a result, an inadequate and unsatisfactory measure was passed in 1872, entitled the Infant Life Protection Act, which provided that nurses who receive payment for more than one child under twelve months' old should be registered. Proceedings were not taken in a single case in Ireland for over twenty-two years. In 1897 the Act was amended, the age being raised to five years, and powers being given to local authorities to appoint inspectors. Even so the law does not yet apply to those cases in which only one child is taken to be nursed for hire, with the exception of single children for whom one payment of not more than £20 is made.

Infant Insurance. The question of infant life insurance has also a distinct bearing on infant mortality. In 1875, the Friendly Societies surrendered the principle that no insurance could be made by any person on any life in which the person for whose benefit the insurance was made had no interest. As a result of the Friendly Societies' Act of that year, a peculiar interest was taken in the death of a child of the working

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classes, and burial clubs and infant life insurance became common.

In sixteen years 265,906, or 25 per cent. of those children dealt with by the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, were insured for a total sum of £1,383,021. Doubtless in the majority of cases working class parents only desired to insure themselves against loss by death; but there can be no doubt that in many instances, the infant has suffered as a result of the unnatural inhumanity of some parent who has allowed the child to die for the sake of the insurance money. In all other forms of insurance the Companies take the greatest possible pains to protect themselves against fraud and dishonesty, but in this special case the Societies benefit so much by the premiums of those who treat their children well, as well as by premiums paid in for lapsed policies, that practically no inquiry is made as to whether the children are sickly or illegitimate or farmed out. Some amendment is required which would make it impossible for the parent or for the person in charge of the infant to benefit in the slightest degree by this form of insurance. It should not be impossible to devise a means whereby the whole of the proceeds should go towards the actual cost of the burial.

More recent legislation either on behalf of the infant or of the child will be found in the subsequent chapters dealing with special phases of child life and labour. The first essential of any State that is to live, is that it should secure for its young citizens physical and mental well-being. An attempt will now be made to show how this idea can be still further developed.

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CHAPTER II.

INFANT MORTALITY.

"The movement for the prevention of infant mortality has now become one of those great world-movements in which humanitarian workers of all nations may find a common basis for their labours."

—*Daily News*, Sept. 18th, 1907.

THE high death rate of infants, viz., of children under twelve months of age, has, of late, attracted considerable public attention. A recent evidence of interest in the matter was the calling of a national Conference on Infantile Mortality in June, 1906, held under the patronage of the King and Queen, with Mr. John Burns as President.* Before and more markedly since the conference, many reformers have enlisted in the campaign against this national evil. Amongst them we find members of Public Health authorities, Boards of Guardians, philanthropic bodies, the medical profession, and influential private

* In September, 1907, an International Conference on the subject was held at Brussels, under the name of the "Second International Congress of Gouttes de Lait." It decided that the scope of the Congress should be extended in future, and that the next should be called the "International Congress for the Protection of Infant Life."

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citizens. The combination of these powerful forces affords some ground for the belief that the evil will soon be successfully combated.

A thorough understanding of the subject should be the concern of every true citizen for three reasons :—

1.—**Because such a wastage of human life is a loss of the nation's best capital.** It has been truly said that a nation's most valuable asset is its men, women and children. France realises this, having been brought to the position of a stationary population owing to a high infant mortality, coupled with a diminished birth-rate. She is now straining every nerve to restore her credit, so far as her human capital is considered.

2.—**Because the conditions which make for the death of infants, make also for disease,** which, falling short of death, render unfit at the outset those who should become able and healthful members of the community. These defective children of the State tend to lower the general standard of the nation's fitness, and Sir John Simon aptly described the situation when he said that " a high infantile mortality necessarily denotes a prevalence of those causes and conditions, which, in the long run, determine a degeneration of race."

3.—**Because this question appeals to us on humanitarian grounds.** Although the poet may be right in saying that " suffering is our law of life," yet we cannot help feeling that children, at least, should be exempted. Death and disease, in their case, mean suffering on the part of those least able to bear it.

It is, of course, impossible to give a wide and comprehensive grasp of so large a subject in the

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short space of one chapter, but it can, perhaps, best be done by considering it under the following heads:

(*a*) What the term Infantile Mortality really means, and a survey of the extent to which this evil exists in our own country to-day.

(*b*) The causes of Infantile Mortality.

(*c*) Preventive and remedial measures which may be undertaken in order to remove the evil.

A.—What Infantile Mortality means. By Infantile Mortality we mean the deaths per annum amongst the infant population of the country. For statistical purposes it is necessary to ascertain the *rate* of these deaths. This is obtained by finding out how many children, out of every thousand born per annum, die before they reach twelve months of age, and it is termed the "*Infantile Mortality rate.*" It is reasonably to be expected that a certain proportion will die, since the exigences of human life are many, and an infant is frail. We are therefore justified in speaking of a "*normal Infantile Mortality rate,*" and reliable authorities put the figure down as from 50 to 80 per 1,000, which, in other words, means that out of every 1,000 children born in a year, we must expect that from 50 to 80 will die. So far, however, from this being the case, we find that even in such favoured places as Hampstead, the rate does not fall below 97, and the rates for other places vary from 120 to 300, and in certain slum areas, even 400 per 1,000. From all of these a mean rate has been adduced, and, accordingly, we speak of the "*average Infantile Mortality rate*" of England and Wales as from 130 to 150 per 1,000—a figure twice as high as the normal rate, and an evil of sufficient magnitude to appal us even with-

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out worse disclosures. A most graphic representation of the state of affairs is given by Dr. Newman in his book on "Infant Mortality." He tells us that the actual number of children dying under twelve months of age in England and Wales each year is 120,000, or put in other words "One-sixth of all children born die before they are twelve months old—a quarter of all the deaths in one year are those of infants under twelve months." These facts would be terrible enough if they applied to one year only of the nation's life, but statistics show that for the last fifty years the same number of infants has been sacrificed year by year.

A closer investigation of the subject brings out two important facts, arrived at by comparing the marked variations in the Infant Mortality rate of different districts. The facts are :—

(1) The Infant mortality rate is higher in urban than in country districts.

(2) It is the highest of all in manufacturing towns where there is a large proportion of married women's labour.

It is desirable that attention should be drawn to these two facts since they lead us towards the next point for consideration ; viz., the Causes of this high mortality. The following table shows that the infant death rate is higher in urban than in rural districts :—

INFANTILE MORTALITY RATES 1900-1904.

Districts	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904
Large towns in England ..	172.0	168.0	145.0	144.0	160.0
Rural England and Wales	138.0	137.0	135.0	118.0	125.0

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The next table shows that the Infantile Mortality rate is highest of all in manufacturing towns, where there is a large proportion of married women's labour :—

Town.	I. M. rate 1896-1905.	PERCENTAGE OF WOMEN ENGAGED IN OCCUPATIONS, 1901. Total.	Married or Widowed.
Burnley	208	75.4	33.8
Preston	208	73.8	30.5
Blackburn	183	76.5	37.9
Nottingham	180	67.7	24.1
Leicester	175	69.8	25.2
Bury	164	73.7	25.6

We may contrast these manufacturing towns, where many married women are employed and in which the average infant mortality is over 180, with such manufacturing towns as Sunderland, Swansea, Lincoln, South Shields, Newport and Cardiff, where fewer married women are engaged, and where the average sinks to 160 per 1,000.

B.—The Causes of Infantile Mortality. Having satisfied ourselves that the high death-rate of infants in our country is a real and not an imaginary evil, we must now seek to ascertain the causes which bring about such a regrettable loss of infant life. These are many, and often inextricably interwoven. It is this fact which makes the subject a difficult one to deal with, and consequently investigators take many different points of view. On one main point, however, all are in agreement, viz : *that a high rate of infant mortality is mainly to be found in working class families.* Statistics show that the infant death rate is approximately :

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1 in 10 or 12 amongst the upper classes.
1 in 6 amongst the middle classes.
1 in 4 amongst the working classes.

Undoubtedly, the many disadvantages under which the poor live are collectively responsible for this high death rate. Insanitary surroundings, overcrowding and therefore impure air, unclean homes, deficient personal cleanliness, insufficient and improper food and clothing, general negligence and ignorance, and many other evils attendant on poverty act prejudicially on adult life, and must do so to a greater degree on infant life. As one writer says: "In essence, Infant Mortality arises from causes which lie deep in the social and economic conditions of the people." Hence, it is that social reformers are in the vanguard of this movement, affirming that a reconstruction of our whole social system lies at the very root of the matter. In further treating of this subject, we shall be able to lay a finger on certain definite causes of Infant Mortality, but, lurking in the background, almost without exception, is this "causa causans" of poverty.

In attempting to explain a high infant death rate, we must never forget that every child's life begins before birth, and that during the antenatal period of nine months the tender organism is made ready either for life or death when the time of birth arrives. Therefore it is that the causes of Infant Mortality may most satisfactorily be studied under two heads:—

(1) *Antenatal influences, viz., those acting on the child before birth.*

(2) *Postnatal influences, viz., those acting on the child after birth.*

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Antenatal influences may thus be classified :—

(*a*) Factory labour. When injurious to the health of an expectant mother.

(*b*) Various poisons. Acting through the mother on the child, viz., the poisons of certain diseases, certain drugs, and above all Alcohol.

Postnatal influences :

(*a*) Unhygienic surroundings into which the child is born.

(*b*) Substitution of artificial feeding for breast feeding.

(*c*) Criminal neglect.

Each of these points must now receive more detailed consideration.

Antenatal Influences.

(*a*) *Factory labour when injurious to the health of the expectant mother.* Physical work in itself need not prove injurious either to the mother or the child. It is only when such work is especially arduous, and carried on for long hours under unfavourable conditions that it becomes a danger. Unfortunately, much of the factory work of women falls into this category, and we have only to turn over the " Annual Report of the Chief Inspector of Factories " to learn the magnitude of the evil. In rare cases neither mother nor child suffer, even if factory work is carried on almost to the time of child-birth. This is the exception, however, and statistics which have already been given show that the Infant Mortality rate is highest of all in manufacturing towns where married women are engaged.

Factory labour on the part of a mother acts injuriously on the child in two ways :

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(1) *It brings into the world immature infants,* who are unable to withstand the exigencies of life. The returns of the Registrar-General show that the death rates of infants from immaturity increases year by year, till now some 30 per cent. of the total infant deaths are due to this cause.

(2) *It induces deformities* amongst infants which largely diminish their chances of life. This point has been clearly brought out by Dr. George Reid, Medical Officer of Health for Staffordshire. He compares the North Staffordshire manufacturing towns, where many married women are engaged in factory work, with the South Staffordshire manufacturing towns where practically no women are engaged, and so far as abnormalities and still births are concerned, he gets the following results :—

	Abnormalities.	Still births
North Staffs. ..	15.0	9.4
South Staffs. ..	6. 0	3.2

A mass of evidence proves beyond doubt that amongst the antenatal causes of Infant Mortality factory labour of mothers plays the largest part, and yet we have no legislation which can prevent a woman from doing factory work even up to the very hour of child-birth. The law of England does not contain one clause to protect the mothers of her future citizens in this respect. To use a phrase of Mr. Chiozza Money's, "The Factory Act is not aware that pregnancy precedes child-birth."

(*b*) *Various Poisons* acting through the mother on the child come in for consideration as antenatal causes. The purely medical aspect of this subject renders it unnecessary to deal with it except as

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regards alcohol. This poison is the one which probably accounts for more infant deaths than any other. Scientific experiments conclusively prove that alcohol taken by the mother passes into the blood of her unborn child, and that this alcohol is injurious to the infant is evidenced by the higher rate of mortality amongst infants born of alcoholic mothers, than amongst infants born of temperate mothers. We need only quote one illustration of this fact. In Liverpool it was found by D. W. C. Sullivan that of the children born to twenty-one drunken mothers, 55.2 per cent. or over a half were still born, or died under the age of two years, whereas of the children born to twenty-eight sober mothers living under the same general conditions, only 23.9 per cent. died.

Postnatal Influences.

(*a*) *Unhygienic surroundings* (as already stated in discussing the question of Poverty) must act deleteriously on the health of infants, and indirectly if not directly be the cause of death in many instances. Otherwise why do we find such a terrible rise of the infant mortality rate in the slums of some of our large cities? In the three poorest wards of Birmingham the Infant Mortality rate is respectively 232, 263, 331, whereas in Edgbaston, a "better class" neighbourhood it is 133. Manchester tells the same tale. Ancoats has an infant death rate of 202—the better districts 91 and 108.

(*b*) *The substitution of artificial feeding for breast feeding* is, undoubtedly, the chief postnatal cause of Infant Mortality.

Amongst the middle and upper classes this is frequently done from choice, and with that we pass the matter over except to say that many in-

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fants die as a direct result. Amongst working class mothers the artificial feeding of infants is more often the result of necessity than choice. Frequently the woman is not well enough fed to be able to nurse her child. More often, being bread winner as well as mother, she is obliged to return to the factory as soon as the law allows her, and then the child must be hand fed. Once again the factory claims its victims, and we are led to inveigh even more strongly against the factory employment of married women, or rather, against the necessity which drives them to it.* It is impossible to enter into the whole subject of why the artificial feeding of infants, especially amongst the poor, is likely to bring to the grave. The experience of the last twenty years, since hand-feeding became so usual, is that *hand-fed infants die ten to fifteen times more readily than breast fed.* The following reasons offer a partial explanation.

(1) Few possess the intelligence and detailed knowledge necessary for artificially rearing a child. "Instinct" is practically valueless. Actual knowledge is essential.

(2) Few are willing to exercise the scrupulous care and cleanliness which are essential. Dirt kills many babies.

(3) Infants' foods, so largely advertised, are many of them poisons rather than foods.

(4) Pure milk, which is a *sine qua non,* is practically unprocurable by the working classes. Polluted milk gives rise to many fatal diseases of infancy, especially epidemic diarrhœa, which carries

* In Germany the working woman who is compelled to cease work owing to the birth of a child receives a sum equal to half her weekly wage.

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off its victims by hundreds during the warm months of the year.

(*c*) *Criminal Neglect* is held by some authorities to account for a certain number of infant deaths annually, either on the part of parents in order to obtain insurance money, or on the part of foster parents, also with a view to profiting by the infant's death. Investigation proves that there are not many parents guilty of this inhumanity, but in the case of foster parents there is often grave reason for suspicion. Otherwise, why is it that the death rate of illegitimate children, who are usually "put out to nurse," is frequently twice as high as that of legitimate children? The Infant Life Protection Act of 1897 fails to "protect" large numbers of such children, and there are too many loopholes for those who wish to elude the law.

C.—Suggested Remedies. We must now turn to the question of what are the remedies which may be applied with a view to checking this constant loss of infant life.

In combating the *Antenatal Causes* of Infant Mortality, we can only act on the mother. Our attention, therefore, must be concentrated on her, and the child will, indirectly, be affected for good.

1.—Social betterment of the Working Classes must enter into our scheme. The surroundings of every expectant mother should be, as far as possible, hygienic. As Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said: good-housing, good air, good food, good water, and a certain amount of leisure must be every mother's lot—then only can her child be "well-born."

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2.—The exclusion of married women from factories is most desirable. To this end the procuring of a "living wage" by each man should be made possible, and the necessity for married women's labour thus removed. Drunkenness on the part of the husband and a consequent waste of family funds must be combated, as this frequently leads the mother to become a subsidiary wage earner.

3.—Legislation must be forthcoming to protect expectant mothers, so long as they continue to be employed in factories. Instead of there being no legal restrictions to prevent them from working in factories up to the very hour of child-birth, two months, at least, of freedom from such arduous labour should be made obligatory.

4.—The person of the expectant mother must be protected as far as possible from all "poisons" which will injure the coming child. Above all she must be taught to protect herself from alcohol, and to this end temperance teaching and temperance legislation are desirable.

In combating the *postnatal causes* of Infant Mortality we are able to act directly on both mother and child.

1.—Breast-feeding must, if possible, be ensured.

This will do more to save infant lives than anything else, for it is the only royal road to health for every infant. In order to ensure breast-feeding, attention must be directed to the following points:

(*a*) *Every nursing mother should be well fed.* If too poor to procure the necessary nourishment for herself, municipal or philanthropic institutions

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must come to her aid on the lines of the Coullet restaurants in Paris or the system in vogue in Villiers-le Duc.*

Better still would be the starting of Motherhood Insurance Societies such as exist in some Continental countries. Regular payments made by mothers before confinement ensure the receipt of weekly sums of money after confinement sufficient to procure good food.

(*b*) *The teaching of mothers that breast feeding is their chief duty.* By the Midwives Act of 1902, Rule E., midwives are made responsible for this teaching, and they should be made to realise the importance of the duty.

Alderman Broadbent of Huddersfield has repeatedly shown that *an earlier system of notification* would also help in this matter as the Public Health authorities could immediately send their Health Visitors to instruct mothers; and it is hoped that the Act passed August, 1907 "to provide for the early Notification of Births" will have the effect of considerably reducing the death rate in all those towns that are wise enough to adopt it. The Act provides that it shall be the duty of the father or of any person in attendance on the mother to give notice in writing of the birth to the Medical Officer of Health of the district in which the child is born. The notice must be posted or delivered

* The *Coullet* restaurants in Paris provide two free meals a day to any poor nursing mother who applies. At *Villiers-le-Duc* every poor mother who gives notice at the Town Hall is attended free by nurse and doctor at her confinement. Afterwards she receives during ten days, one franc a day on condition that she remains in bed. At the close of the first year, if the child is in good condition, the mother receives two francs for every month from the birth of the child.

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within thirty-six hours after the birth. The local authority undertakes to supply stamped and addressed postcards containing the form of notice to any medical practitioner, or midwife in the area. The penalty for failure to certify is not to exceed 20s.

(*c*) *Legislation in regard to the early return of mothers to factories after child-birth.*

As the law now stands, a woman may legally return to such work after one month, which means that from that time the infant is artificially fed—with what disastrous results we have already seen.

The period should certainly be extended to two months, if not to three. Fortunately, we have assurance from the President of the Local Government Board that such legislation is within view.

2.—Artificial feeding of the child must only be resorted to under the following safeguards:—

(*a*) *Careful instruction of mothers in the details of artificial feeding.* The foundation of such instruction might well be laid by teaching given in the senior classes of elementary schools or at Evening Continuation Schools, supplemented at the time of child-birth by advice from Health Visitors, sent as early as possible by the Public Health Authorities. The work of such ladies specially trained for the purpose has already proved invaluable and will, undoubtedly, largely help in diminishing the infant death rate.*

* In New York during the past summer of 1907 the "Association for improving the condition of the poor" has employed a large corps of trained nurses, who have visited 100,000 families giving the mothers actual demonstrations of how to bathe, dress and feed their children.

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They may be assisted by voluntary Lady Helpers as in Huddersfield. Mrs. Sidney Webb said of this scheme, "I am convinced that you have discovered the key to raising the condition of the poorer classes in this systematic and sympathetic health visiting—voluntary effort in a setting of municipal activity."

(*b*) *Government supervision of all so-called "Infant foods,"* which should be certified by a Government analyst as fit for use—and an analysis given on the package. This might well be made a further provision of the "Food and Drugs Act," until we are prepared to go as far as France in her Roussel law, which prohibits the administration of any solid food to a child under twelve months of age, except when medically prescribed.

(*c*) *Rigorous Government supervision of cow's milk,* which is the only reliable substitute for human milk, or *legalising the sale by municipalities of pure milk.* The able researches of many bacteriologists prove that no food becomes more readily contaminated with germs than milk; these germs are actually capable of destroying infant life, as in the case of infantile and epidemic diarrhœa. So long as the private ownership of dairies continues, it will be difficult to fight this menace to the public health, especially considering the ineffectual provisions of the "Dairies Order." The "municipal dairy and the municipal cow" seem to offer the only solution. Fortunately in Infant Milk Depots we have a means of procuring absolutely pure milk for infants, and Battersea, Liverpool, Finsbury and other places have materially diminished their infant death rate by this means. Strangely enough, such institutions are for the time being "illegal" and surchargeable, but the

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President of the L.G.B. promises that such an anomaly shall speedily cease, and these institutions receive all possible encouragement. If the work of these Depots could be extended beyond the mere distribution of milk, to making them centres of study of infant life, and teaching centres to mothers, following the example of the "Goutte de Lait" in France, and the Ghent School for mothers, their usefulness would be greatly increased.

Criminal Neglect:—This cause of infant mortality can only be fought by legislative intervention on the following lines:—

(*a*) More rigorous supervision of the methods of Insurance Companies.

(*b*) An extension of the "Infant Life Protection Act" of 1897 to include children taken to nurse by the day, and also single children who are permanently "boarded out."

In certain parts of England some of these remedies have already been put into operation, and with the most encouraging results. In the Longwood district of Huddersfield, for instance, the infant death rate fell from 122 to 35 per 1,000 as the result of effort in three directions: first, a compulsory system of early notification—as the result of a special Act of the City Council, second, the instruction of mothers by Health Visitors, and third, the promise of a £1 gift if, at the end of twelve months, the child is alive and in good condition.

A report, published October, 1907, shows that the infant mortality for the 39 completed weeks of that year was 85 as against 138 for the corresponding period of the previous year. For the first six months of 1907 it was 22 per cent. lower than infant mortality of the 76 great towns.

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In Finsbury, where a Milk Depot has been worked for the last two years and artificially fed children supplied with pure milk, the death rate amongst Depot infants is now 65 per 1,000 as compared with 160 in Finsbury as a whole.

In Battersea, where there is a Municipal Depot, similar results have followed.

We are therefore encouraged to believe that earnest concentration of effort on this serious national evil will result in saving thousands of lives annually, which may, in future, prove of inestimable value to the community.

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CHAPTER III.

THE HOME CHILD.

"Home—that rallying place of the affections."
—WASHINGTON IRVING.

"For this must be carefully provided, that no father, of what estate, or condition that ever he be, use his children at his own fantasie, especially in their youth-head, but all must be compelled to bring up their children in learning and virtue, so that the commonwealth may have some comfort by them."
—JOHN KNOX.

WE have already seen how, in our country, one-sixth of all children born die during their first year. The remaining five-sixths pass through the perils of infancy and enter upon the years of early childhood. It is to them that our attention will now be turned. These children are mostly to be found in their homes, being yet too immature to be cast as flotsam and jetsam upon the tide of the world's life. The exclusively home-period of life usually continues to the end of their fourth year. At five years of age they are legally bound to attend school, and their real introduction to public life commences.

Home-Life: The Ideal and the Real. During this period (*i.e.* the home-period), says Sir John

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Gorst, "the child is left to the uncontrolled and unwatched responsibility of its parents. The public shuts its eyes and hopes that all is going well." In the case of some children the hope is fulfilled, that is to say, those whose parents have a high sense of their responsibility, coupled with the knowledge and opportunity which enable them to carry out what they know is for the truest good of their children. A comparatively small number come into this category, however. The working classes form by far the largest section of the community, and with them it is usually the case that either the sense of parental responsibility is lacking, or, what more often happens, that the opportunity of doing what is best for their children is wanting.

As a consequence, the development of the child physically, intellectually, morally, is thwarted when development is, or ought to be, the main fact of existence. All the hope of the future which centres in a child depends on the fact that it is plastic material. If right impetus and environment are not provided, the limitless possibilities of good may be turned to limitless possibilities of evil.

Conditions Necessary for Perfect Child Development. Let us consider what are the essentials of normal development to be secured for children. They are, from the material point of view:—

1. Fresh air and hygienic surroundings.
2. Good and sufficient food.
3. Sufficient clothing.
4. Cleanliness.
5. Sufficient sleep.

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We will try to discover to what extent these essentials are to be found in the lives of the majority of children. It is always satisfactory to prove statements by statistics. But statistics of home-conditions are difficult to obtain, for once we begin to investigate the home, we tamper with the "rights of the individual," which is what an Englishman invariably resents. In various indirect ways, however, it will be possible to prove the correctness of our statements.

(1.) **Importance of Fresh Air and Hygienic Surroundings.** In Dr. George Newman's "The Health of the State" (No. 2 of the present series), the whole question of the value of fresh air to the human organism from the physiological standpoint is fully considered, and to that volume the reader is referred. Fortunately the present generation is more converted to the use of fresh air than the past generation was, but it is still possible to show that this primary requirement of all human beings is wanting in the lives of too many, to the ultimate detriment of their physical condition. It certainly is so with the children of the poor in our towns.

The most recent statistics that we have relating to the *housing of children* are those just published (1907) by Dr. Leslie Mackenzie in the Report of the Physical Condition of Children attending the Public Schools of the School Board of Glasgow.

Dividing the schools into four grades, viz., (*a*) poorest class school; (*b*) poor class; (*c*) better class; (*d*) best, he shows what proportion of the 72,857 children examined, live in one, two, three or four-roomed homes.

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TABLE X.

a. Poorest class school.	*b.* Poor.	*c.* Better.	*d.* Best.
Number living in	Number living in	Number living in	Number living in
1 room 3,654	1 room 1,865	1 room ... 338	1 room ... 65
2 rooms ..17,902	2 rooms ..16,196	2 rooms ... 5,499	2 rooms... 2,503
3 „ .. 2,780	3 „ .. 6,117	3 „ 4,218	3 „ 4,533
4 „ .. 326	4 „ .. 1,160	4 „ 1,398	4 „ 4,294

Total number of Elementary School children in Glasgow out of 72,857 living in :—

1 room	.. 5,922	8.1 per cent.
2 rooms	.. 42,100	57.8 per cent.
3 rooms	.. 17,648	24.2 per cent.
4 rooms	.. 7,188	9.9 per cent.

In a one-roomed home it is, of course, absolutely impossible to obtain the amount of fresh air requisite for a healthy existence, be the family large or small; yet 8.1 per cent. of Glasgow school children live in such homes. A two-roomed home is little better, but the appalling figure confronts us that 57.8 per cent. of all Elementary School children in Glasgow live in two-roomed homes. This city, moreover, is probably fairly typical of other large towns in Great Britain. "Overcrowding is one of the great causes of physical degeneracy" was the evidence repeatedly given before the Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1905. No one doubts the truth of the statement. The pale cheeks of the city child are due to lack of fresh air and sunlight, almost as much as lack of food, while the rosy cheeks of the country child are the result, amongst other things, of the abundance of fresh air by which it is surrounded. *Outside* the home, as well as *inside*, City children are robbed of Nature's heritage of pure air. No

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breezes can find their way through an alley or to the pavement of a back-to-back house, which is often the only playground these children possess. There may be a public park within walking distance, but even so, the mother is freqently too busy to take them there.

Many mothers, ***unknowingly***, provide insufficient air for their children. In all classes of society, there are few who understand about ventilation, and fewer still who carry what they know into practice. Amongst the poor this is lamentably true. Living as they do, in small overcrowded rooms, ventilation is more than ever a necessity, yet their windows are seldom opened except to be cleaned, and this is usually a Saturday morning "rite," not repeated on any other day of the week. Of 2480 houses examined at night in York, only 5 per cent. had open windows in the front on a comparatively warm night.*

A clean home is also an essential, if children are to be healthy. Their whole surroundings should be hygienic, yet few homes in our large cities can be described as even moderately clean! If they are to be kept so, it means an endless warfare against dust and grime, which many women have not the courage to carry on.

The *remedies* for these undesirable home-conditions are:—

1. Housing reform and consequent diminution of overcrowding.
2. Instruction of women, especially mothers, in general hygiene and the value of fresh air.

(2.) **A Sufficiency of Good Food.** Even in better class homes ignorance prevails in regard to the

* Vide Rowntree's "Poverty," Chap. VI.

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correct feeding of children. Power to obtain the right kind of food in sufficient quantities is not wanting. All that is lacking is knowledge. Amongst the poor it is otherwise. Frequently there is neither money wherewith to buy sufficient food, nor the knowledge of what is the most desirable food to buy, with the dire result that underfeeding and malnutrition are painfully apparent amongst the children.

The results of underfeeding on the physique of children have been strikingly brought out by the small amount of medical inspection already carried out in this country. It is only necessary to turn to one or two recent sources of information dealing with the matter. Comparing the children of poorer class schools in Bradford with those of better class schools the Education Officers found that, almost without exception, children of the same age were less in height by as much as ½ to 2¾ inches and in weight by as much as ¾ to 6¼ lbs.

Dr. Leslie Mackenzie's figures for Glasgow are even more striking. He compared children of varying grades of poverty by classifying them as those who live in one, two, three, or four-roomed homes. Their respective heights and weights are as follows :—

	Height.	Weight.
ONE ROOM.		
Boys	46.6 in.	52.6 lbs.
Girls	46.3 in.	51.5 lbs.
TWO ROOMS.		
Boys	48.1 in.	56.1 lbs.
Girls	47.8 in.	54.8 lbs.
THREE ROOMS.		
Boys	50.0 in.	60.6 lbs.
Girls	49.6 in.	59.4 lbs.

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Four Rooms.	Height.	Weight.
Boys	51.3 in.	64.3 lbs.
Girls	51.6 in.	65.5 lbs.

He adds "It cannot be an accident that boys from two-roomed houses should be 11.7 lbs. lighter on an average than boys from four-roomed houses, and 4.7 inches smaller. Neither is it an accident that girls from one-roomed houses are on the average 14 lbs. lighter and 5.3 inches shorter than the girls from four-roomed houses."

The London County Council Report for 1907 gives fifty to sixty per cent. of children as coming under the head of "indifferent nutrition." In the special schools for mental defective children, it was found that a large number of scholars were underfed, and there is little doubt that their mental condition was thus largely accounted for. No one, perhaps, has shown more clearly than Dr. Hall, of Leeds, the marked effect correct or incorrect feeding has on children. This he has done by comparing the physical condition of British and Jewish children (who are correctly cared for in the matter of food by their mothers) also, by scientifically feeding a certain number of children at the schools and noting their increase in height and weight. The results of his investigations are more fully dealt with in the following chapter, to which the reader is referred.

The Causes of Improper Feeding. As regards the *causes* of improper feeding, we have already mentioned two: lack of means wherewith to buy sufficient food, lack of knowledge as to what are the most desirable forms of food. To these must be added: waste of the family funds in drink, the non-provision of proper cooking stoves in the

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homes of the poor, laziness of mothers (who would rather buy ready-prepared food than go to the trouble of preparing it), and in many cases, absence of the mother from home, when she is acting as subsidiary wage-earner in the factory or elsewhere.*

All these causes are remediable and should be remedied. We must look forward to the time when regular employment, the provision of a living wage, and the sobriety of parents will result in no family being below the "poverty line" and unable to obtain the bare necessaries of life. If, in addition to this, mothers awaken to their responsibility and gain further instruction in matters relating to food, the future generation of children should benefit considerably.

(3.) **A Sufficiency of Clothing.** This is a matter of vital importance to children, and the more so the smaller they are, seeing it is from first to last a question of warmth. Children, therefore, should be correctly clothed, especially during the years of early childhood. Yet how many of them are not? Positive proof that much is wrong in this way is given by the fact that 24,000 children under five years of age died in 1905 from chest diseases such as Bronchitis and Pneumonia. Then when we get to children of school years we gain information from actual statistics. The Report of the Dundee Social Union for 1905 gives tragic details of insufficiently clothed scholars. In the Bradford schools we get the following figures :—

* Nurses sent out by the L.C.C. to visit in the homes of school children found that of 110 boys, all very far below the average in physique, forty-four had a mother at home, sixty-six were practically motherless. The mother was either dead or out at work all day.

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		per cent.
(*a*) In the matter of clothing		22 good.
,,	,,	42 average.
,,	,,	36 bad or very bad.
		per cent.
(*b*) In the matter of footgear		55 good.
,,	,,	31 average.
,,	,,	14 bad or very bad.

The observations of each one of us, without statistics, are enough to show that lack of clothing is one of the disabilities from which children of the poor suffer, and frequently to their mortal hurt.

It is largely accounted for by the fact that parents cannot afford to buy them sufficient clothing of good quality, for a 20s. to 30s. weekly wage will not go far towards buying clothes for a family of children after rent, food, etc., have been arranged for. Ignorance and laziness are also partially responsible. Many mothers do not know how to dress their children hygienically (for instance, the value of wool as compared to cotton), and many will not take the trouble to make their children's clothes, which is the only way of providing good clothing cheaply. False pride too is to some extent accountable; the outside garment counting for much more with some mothers than warm underclothing.

(4.) **Importance of Cleanliness.** Cleanliness is a *sine qua non* if a child is to be really healthy. Yet many look upon this as a luxury, and an unattainable one. Unfortunately, for many it is practically unattainable, and will continue to be so while housing conditions remain what they are, and poverty exists to the extent it does, driving all self-respect out of the hearts of men and women.

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William Watson speaks of "Childhood fragrant as the limpid morn." That is the true picture of childhood, not the one presented by the L.C.C., which has had to institute a "Cleansing Scheme" for the children who come from London homes to attend its schools. The latest Education Report speaks of a great improvement in the scholars, thanks to the "Cleansing Scheme," which has been put into operation, and worked so nobly by the nurses, yet we find that of 72,000 examined, 11,000 are still in "an unclean condition."

The School Report of one of our provincial towns classifies its scholars thus:—"22 per cent. clean, 49 per cent. rather dirty, 25.5 per cent. dirty, and 3.3 per cent. very dirty." In reference to their heads, only 30 per cent. were clean, 35 per cent. not clean, and 35 per cent. very dirty. (Compare this with Germany, where only 1.8 per cent. of school children are said to be in a neglected condition.) If the children in British schools are in this uncared-for state, we can be sure that the children who are yet too small to leave home are in a similar condition. Better housing, with baths in every home, and increased self-respect both of parents and children, will do more to cure this evil than anything else. Public and school baths are also a step in the right direction, as far as older children are concerned.

(5.) **Another Health Requirement—Sufficient Sleep.** Probably few people realise what an absolute essential sleep is for a child. It is one of the first requirements of childhood, and yet an enormous number of children come very far short of the amount which is really necessary for their perfect development. This is partly the result of ignorance on the mother's part. Not many

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mothers know that a correct working axiom is, for a baby, as many hours as it will consent to sleep, and for a young child, at least half its day, *i.e.* twelve hours.

Ignorance is not the only cause which acoounts for children being deprived of their necessary sleep. Noisy surroundings and ill-ventilated rooms often make prolonged and refreshing rest impossible. But worse still, the mother not infrequently spends her evenings in a neighbouring public house, taking the younger children with her. The ills, physical and moral, which fall upon children who are the victims of such degrading selfishness of mothers are luridly brought out by Mr. G. R. Sims in his "Cry of the Children," published first as special articles for the *Tribune*, and now issued in pamphlet form. Here we read how a police magistrate stated that "in one month he had before him thirty-one women charged with being drunk and incapable, having little children in their care."

It is to be hoped that future legislation will make a vigorous attack upon this evil, especially as there is every evidence that alcoholism is becoming much more common amongst women. The Registrar-General's Reports for 1900-1904 prove that during those years the death rate from alcoholism amongst women showed an increase of 184 per cent.

Poverty and Disease.

When these primary essentials of life—air, food, clothing, cleanliness, sleep—are provided for all children, then will childhood be the healthy, happy state it was meant to be. Meanwhile those who have no such "goodly heritage," are, many

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of them, not only imperfectly developed, but actually suffering and diseased.

An inquiry was recently instituted by the L.C.C. into the home conditions and family history of one hundred mentally defective children and of one hundred normal children attending three of their schools. Mrs. Dickenson Berry, M.D., who carried out the inquiry, visited in person most of the homes and classifies them thus:—

1. Very low type of dwelling, one or two rooms underground, characterised by poverty, dirt, slovenliness, overcrowding.

2. Little better than 1, attempts at cleanliness.

3. More or less satisfactory, no extreme poverty, no marked overcrowding, tolerable cleanliness.

	Defective Children per cent.	Normal per cent.
From lowest class of home (1) came	42	6
,, better ,, ,, (2) came	36	34
,, best ,, ,, (3) came	22	60

Reporting on the parents, she says that "the mothers of the defective children were of a lower type than the other mothers, especially intellectually, one third could not read or write. They were also dirty and slatternly. Many of the fathers were drunken and 60 per cent. of them worked as unskilled labourers, being frequently out of employment."

Cause and effect could not be more clearly seen. Were it possible to institute an all-round inquiry into the home conditions of all sick children, there is no doubt that in an appalling proportion of the cases we should find their home conditions directly responsible for the suffering and disease.

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Moral Influences. Beyond and above the material requirements of which we have written, every child stands in need of holy and healthful influences, which will feed its intellectual and moral nature. The unconscious influence of surroundings on young children can never be sufficiently emphasised. A child's mind and character grows by *impressions* much more than by direct teaching. Therefore the opportunity should be given to all children of seeing and hearing what is beautiful in persons and things. Slumdom is sadly lacking in beauty of any sort, and yet it is the horizon that bounds many a child's life. Hence the need for country holidays and that contact with nature without which the life of the child must inevitably suffer.

The Duty of the State. As individuals and as a nation we have not yet realised the justice due to children. But the day of awakening has dawned. No effort should be spared which will ensure a larger, fuller life for children and the perfect development of all sides of their nature.

Every imperfectly developed child is a future menace to the State. If physically or mentally defective it will finally prove an unproductive member of the community, unable to maintain itself and a pecuniary burden to the nation, as inmate either of workhouse or asylum. If morally defective it will swell the ranks of the hooligan and later, of the criminal classes—a danger to itself and others.

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CHAPTER IV.

THE SCHOOL CHILD.

"The people's school has more to do than merely teach the vehicles of culture, reading, writing and arithmetic. The chief aim is rather the preparation of citizens who can and will cheerfully serve their God and their native country."—

PRUSSIAN MINISTER OF EDUCATION.

IN most countries school instruction and school discipline do not begin until the age of six, in some cases seven years of age. In England, since 1870, every child over five years of age is compelled to attend school, and there is nothing to prevent the parents from sending it to school earlier, providing that the local education authority is willing to make the necessary arrangements. It is doubtful, however, whether, from a scientific point of view, it is at all desirable for children to begin such work before they are seven years old, since the brain is not able to stand the strain necessarily imposed upon it by an ordinary school curriculum. Unfortunately, however, in the case of a large number of mothers, the necessity imposed upon them of earning a livelihood compels them to send their children at a very early age to any institution which will take charge of them,

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and leave the parent free to work. In poor districts there is a demand for crèches, day nurseries, infant schools, Kindergarten, all of which are maintained either at the public expense or by private charity, and serve the purpose of rescuing the children from a home in which they must suffer neglect. The ideal is, of course, that the mother should stay at home and look after her children, and that for the greater part of the day they should be in the fresh air, developing their limbs and their powers of observation. Where this is impossible, special steps must be taken to see that the children are cared for, and that whatever education they receive is adapted to their needs and capacities. If the infant's school is only a glorified nursery, there can be little objection to it; in fact, it may be a very great advantage to the children; but local authorities do not always take a sane view of their duty to the infant. Quite recently the whole question of the age at which the child should attend school has been revived, owing to the enormous cost of supplying the necessary school accommodation and providing the requisite teachers. Many of these children under five years of age have been pressed into the service of the local authorities by the attendance officers, who include them in the returns to the Board of Education. Whatever financial benefit may accrue from large and regular attendance at school, it must in the end cost the local authority more than it really gains, and it is to be hoped that the practice of encouraging mothers to send their babies to school will cease, and that for all children under five we shall frankly surrender any idea of education in the ordinary sense. The recommendation of the Committee

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on Physical Deterioration, that the infant schools should be closed, together with a similar report of the women inspectors of the Board of Education, seems likely for a time to mean the withdrawal of the grant for all children under five. At the present moment the decision of the Board of Education has not been carried out, but local authorities can, if they choose, with the permission of the Board of Education, refuse to receive children under legal school age.

The experience of the last two decades has greatly expanded our views of education in all directions. Perhaps with regard to infant teaching we can sum up the results in a few maxims, which will apply equally in many cases to the teaching of older children.

The Teaching of Infants.

(*a*) *Education must not commence too early.* Children should not begin to be seriously taught before the age of six or seven. Such educational work is sure to be unproductive if it does not mean actually pecuniary loss to the State. It greatly increases the danger of the spread of infectious diseases amongst childen, and is detrimental to the general health of the child, which would be better even if it were allowed to play in the streets.

(*b*) *The school hours should be few in number.* Unless the hours are very few, with frequent breaks, whether for games or for fresh air, the young child is sure to suffer. Unfortunately, many of our schools are far from perfect from the point of view of hygiene, but even in a perfectly planned school, with an ideal environment, children should not be compelled to sit still too long.

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(*c*) *No book learning for little children.* They must learn through impressions. It is in the training of special senses, as in Kindergarten work, that the real scope of the infant school consists. Unless the school brings pleasure to the child, it had better be dispensed with.

(*d*) *Physical exercises are essential.* These must be insisted upon as a regular part of the work of the school, and they should take the shape especially of games in the open air, in order to give opportunity for free movement.

(*e*) *There should be no close work:* nothing which will mean a strain upon the eyes, such as fine sewing. All mere routine work should be discouraged.

(*f*) *Medical inspection on admission to school,* so that both the teaching and the exercises may be adapted to the needs of the child.

(*g*) *Nature study wherever possible.* The lessons given in the open air where such arrangements can be made.

Above all, it must be remembered that the physical and the intellectual development of the child should be considered concurrently. The two must go hand in hand, if the perfect result is to be obtained—perfect, that is to say, from the point of view of the individual and also of the State, to whom the school child as an embryo future citizen is an incalculably valuable asset.

The Elementary School Child. The elementary school child of the higher standards occupies a very different position to that which the child of the same age occupied forty years ago. Great advances have been made in all directions. A humane and an enlightened spirit now pervades all our educational methods. In the

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past, failure to realise certain facts has perhaps resulted in more unproductive education than almost anything else, these facts being that education is a combined development of mind and body, that the child and its environment act and re-act one upon another, and that no amount of intellectual cramming would ever really educate. The result is that we have progressed in three directions:—

1. In the improvement of the school curriculum and school methods.
2. In the improvement of the school premises.
3. In the care of the child outside school hours.

1. The School Curriculum and School Methods.

(*a*) Mental.
(*b*) Physical.

Mental Training. There may be and probably are still left, both teachers and inspectors who demand definite results from little children in the shape of reading, writing, arithmetic and book learning, which tax their immature brains and make them unfit for future development; but fortunately a much more comprehensive view is now taken, and it is hardly likely that an inspector would report, as is said to have been the case with regard to an infant class, that "the mental arithmetic of the baby class leaves much to be desired," nor would he, we think, make this remark even about scholars of a much riper age.

The following points are essential:

(1) A thorough grounding in the primitive elements of culture, namely, a good and general education.

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(2) This education must not be a mere matter of acquiring facts, but must consist rather in teaching the child to apply whatever knowledge it possesses.

(3) It must be an education which in some departments, commonly in the later stages, is specialised with a view to the future calling of the individual, but the specialisation must not begin too early.

Now that the physiology and psychology of the child are better understood, school work is gradually being made to follow the lines of normal development. We are beginning to rectify some of the mistakes made forty years ago, and there is little doubt that education in the future will accomplish much more for the individual, and through the individual for the State, than has been possible in the past. The experience of other countries leads us to expect this, Germany being a notable example. While she cannot be said to have perfected her educational system, yet her scientific and commercial standing amongst European nations is extremely high. The Germans have succeeded as we have not up to the present, in co-ordinating and correlating their educational methods. They have also succeeded in avoiding the break which comes so often in the life of the English child when he leaves school never again to be subjected to any systematic teaching. Compulsory continuation classes suited to the needs of the boy or girl, give to the German children a much better chance than would otherwise be possible.

There is one other point to which attention should be called, and that is the immense size of the class in England. Our idea of economy

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is to teach from sixty to eighty children badly, instead of teaching thirty or forty children well. A few authorities recognise the importance of the smaller class, and they have their reward in the fact that the children so taught are intellectually brighter and more responsive. A theologian has said that "you cannot convert people in rows," neither can you teach them in masses if the teaching is to be of a scientific character.

We must pass over many other points that are of great interest, since the study of educational methods as such is outside the scope of this work, and our special concern is with the physical side of the school curriculum, which until the last ten or fifteen years was either ignored or misunderstood. Science has here come to the aid both of the teacher and the taught in the following respects.

(1) **Physical Training.** A great deal is said nowadays of the importance of physical exercises in our elementary schools, and much emphasis has been laid upon the necessity for military drill and such physical training as will make better soldiers and better servants. There can be no doubt that certain physical exercises must be a part of the curriculum, but to subject all children to one form of exercise, chosen at random without scientific or rational connection, is merely to add other physical disabilities to those from which they are already suffering.

The system which is now superseding all other systems, except where retired Army officers are in power on the educational authority, is the Swedish system of P. H. Lyng (1776-1832) founded, of course, upon a thorough knowledge of anatomy and physiology. Lyng divides his exercises into groups according to their effects, and not, as in

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many other systems, according to the apparatus used in their performance. So closely is it based upon scientific knowledge that he has been able to introduce a gymnastic treatment for several diseases of the heart, and both the digestive and the respiratory organs are greatly benefited by a correct carrying out of his rules. Denmark has adopted this system in its entirety, and many other countries are also experimenting with systems which are based upon that of Lyng. It is a rational and systematic form of physical training, which makes character and produces a perfect physique. The exercises are, of course, graded to suit different ages.

In New York and in Chicago some attention is being given to folk dances as inspiring a love of healthy physical exercise. These folk dances have been co-ordinated with physical training, and form one of the items in the schedule of physical training in the elementary and high schools.*

(2) Swimming. Swimming as a part of the school curriculum has now become so common, that it is unnecessary to say more than that every large town makes a practice of sending its elementary school children to public baths during the summer months. Where the baths are owned by the municipality, there is no difficulty as a rule about payment, but where the baths are privately owned, some arrangement has to be made by which the local education authority pays a sum proportionate to the number of children in attendance. These facilities for

* A full account of what is done in the United States, both in New York and Chicago, and in other towns, will be found in No. 18, Vol. XVIII. of "Charities" published by the C.O.S. of New York, 105, East Twenty-second Street, New York.

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swimming are sometimes increased by the construction of open-air baths, which are used in the same way. Every year hundreds of thousands of children are taught to swim by trained instructors, as a result of these arrangements. The swimming bath, however, does not mean that the school bath can be dispensed with.

(3) **School Baths.** It is sometimes the case that a swimming bath is built in connection with some central school; but although this is very desirable, the cost in most cases is prohibitive in the eyes of the local education authority. But this need nor prevent the installation of school douche baths, such as are to be found everywhere in Germany, even in small places of 3,000 or 4,000 inhabitants. School bathing for cleansing purposes should be a part of the curriculum, just as much as gymnastics or recreative exercises. The form of bath usually adopted in Germany and Holland is that of a warm douche, followed by a cold shower bath. The baths are usually in the basement. In connection with them are dressing rooms, and drying rooms for the linen. Nearly everywhere in Germany the rule is to begin the bath with a temperature of 95° Fahr., then after two or three minutes gradually reduce it so that it finishes about 65° Fahr. In some towns the children bring towels, soap and bathing clothes, but generally speaking, soap and towels are provided. In all the newer schools the bathroom has developed from a rather dark, concreted cellar to a light and airy, and in many cases, marble-lined or white-tiled room. It is only in the older schools that the baths are still unattractive in appearance. In addition to the hot and cold douche there is generally a long shallow gutter.

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filled with warm water from a special pipe, so that twenty or thirty children can soap and wash themselves first before taking the douche.

For over twenty years school cleansing baths have been instituted on the Continent. At Mannheim they have been in existence for thirty years, and the result is a marked improvement in the cleanliness of the children both as regards their persons and their clothes. This, of course, has its effect upon the school air. It is unusual to find in German schools the same unpleasant smell which is so common in English schools accommodating the poorer classes. Very few children have foul or verminous heads—one of the great difficulties in many schools in England. The bath is not always compulsory; but even where it is quite voluntary about eighty-five per cent. of the children may be expected to bathe about twice a week, and it is almost unnecessary at the present day to set forth to the parents the advantages of these bathing and cleansing arrangements. The usual practice is for children to be taken in two batches hourly, and it is also considered necessary as a rule, to keep the children in the school buildings three-quarters of an hour after the bath. Some of the best baths on the Continent will be found at Frankfort, Munich, Cologne and Karlsruhe. All doctors are agreed as to the general satisfactory results of this school cleansing, and it is to be hoped that new schools in our large towns will soon all make some such arrangements. According to Dr. James Kerr, such accommodation is required at any large school as would afford facilities to twenty-five children at a time, that is to say, about fifty an hour, 100 in the fore

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noon, and fifty in the afternoon, or about 750 baths weekly.

Dr. Frederick Rose, Assistant Educational Adviser of the London County Council, estimates that a capital expenditure of £2,000,000, and an annual maintenance charge of £500,000, would enable the system to be introduced throughout the whole of the United Kingdom. It is too much to expect that the Government will be prepared to subsidise educational authorities to this extent, but it is to be hoped that these authorities will be encouraged to incur the expense of installation, and if only London and the larger towns would set the example, a considerable number of other authorities would shortly follow. A philanthropist who wished to do good and not harm with his money, might spend it in a far worse way than in equipping these school shower baths in all the poor districts of the town in which he lived.

(4) **The care of the teeth.** The need for teaching simple physiology and hygiene in the elementary schools has already been referred to, and the terrible condition of the teeth of the average child will be described in the subsequent chapter on medical inspection. What is wanted is not only theoretical teaching with regard to the care of the teeth, but also the requisite facilities for carrying out in practice what has been taught in theory. The lavatory arrangements of nearly all schools are lamentably defective. Education authorities have not yet seen the importance of encouraging cleanliness in every respect. The ideal is that every child should have his or her own toothbrush numbered, and that they should be encouraged to use them at least once a day,

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and if necessary as a part of the school routine. Five minutes spent in this way daily would mean that the habit of teeth-cleaning would be contracted; and even if this were not the case, it would do an incalculable amount of good. When it is remembered that about half the children in the average elementary school have some defective teeth, and that, according to Dr. Crowley's report of the Bradford Elementary Schools, some 60 per cent. of those examined had over four decayed teeth, the importance of regular teeth cleaning will be recognised.

(5) **School Gardens.** The introduction of gardening into the curriculum of elementary schools dates back to the year 1814, Germany being the first country to try the experiment. In that year instructions were issued to the country schools of Schleswig-Holstein that the children should receive some teaching in the culture of fruit and vegetables. Nassau followed in 1870. In 1879 Prussia issued the same regulations. In East and West Prussia the size of the garden is prescribed to be forty-five square rods, and this is about the average size of the school garden in many districts. In Bavaria school gardens are not a part of the curriculum; but the Government encourages this work, and the school inspectors report upon their progress.

In Austria the combination of growing vegetables, flowers and fruit is not uncommon, while in Germany attention has for the most part been concentrated on the growth of fruit, the studies being both theoretical and practical. School gardens are spreading rapidly in various parts of Saxony, owing to the influence of Dr. Lotz, who commenced a school garden in Neustadt,

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near Coburg, in 1885. In all parts of the duchy of Coburg there are school gardens of various kinds in connection with elementary schools. The largest school garden is that founded in Thuringia, at Pössneck, in 1895, by Dr. Lotz, who had moved to that district. It is thirty-three acres in extent and contains 600 plots for individual scholars, a section for roses and fruit trees, a botanical section, a medicinal plant section, and portions set aside for grain crops and vegetables. The town contributes a small sum towards its annual maintenance. An interesting account of a visit paid to the elementary school at Geistingen in the valley of the Sieg, by Mr. T. G. Rooper, one of His Majesty's Inspectors, is contained in a special report published by the Board of Education.*

In France, Italy and the United States, important experiments have been made in this direction.

In New York there is a children's Farm School, situated in De Witt Clinton Park. It was founded by Mrs. Parsons, who, in conjunction with the Park Board, has attempted to demonstrate the value of such farm schools. The land used at the present time is rough land, situated in the heart of a tenement district, with a river view of the Hudson. It may eventually be required for Park purposes. For the present, at all events, a beautiful garden has been made out of a waste wilderness. This school farm or garden, which is laid out for about 150 children, was a plot of land 100 feet by 200 feet, which was so hard that a street contractor had to break up the ground

*Special reports on Educational Subjects, Vol. IX. (Education in Germany). Cd. 836.

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in the first instance with a heavy street-breaking scarifier.

The experimental stage has now passed, and other towns, notably Philadelphia, are taking up this work. In the latter city a paid director has been appointed, and two large school gardens have been started. There is no need to speak of the value of this work in the training of mind and heart as well as hands and feet. Town children, whose human birthright of trees and fields has been alienated, learn even under these unfavourable conditions, with the help of the school garden, to get into touch with Nature.

A school garden was recently established in connection with the Invicta Schools, Blackheath, under the control of the London County Council, to afford an opportunity to the children of studying nature in this practical way. Vegetable and flower gardens have been provided near the school playground, and here, especially during the summer months, the children may be seen sowing seeds, planting cuttings, and gathering their little crops. Six garden plots, three of vegetables and three of flowers, are allotted to each class, and their studies in the art of gardening cover twelve different items each year. The children are allowed to choose which flowers or vegetables they may like to cultivate, and they may also take the seeds home with them. As a result of their care of the flowers and vegetables, the children learn a good deal also about insect life, and their powers of observation are gradually developed. Generally speaking, the children who have taken this interest in the school garden, are quicker and more intelligent as a result of this course of instruction. The experiment is, of

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course, a voluntary one, though it is thoroughly approved by the education authority.

(6) Forest Schools.

(*a*) *Charlottenburg.* The Forest School movement began, strictly speaking, in Germany, although there had been attempts at outdoor schooling for many years in this country; but the first Forest School (*Waldschule*) for sickly, anæmic, and backward children, was started at Charlottenburg in 1904. It is situated in the midst of pine woods. The whole school area is fenced in and provided with small sheds, open on all sides, with tables and benches, at which in hot or rainy weather the children can read and write. There are slipper and shower baths, and a large shed which is open to the south, where the children sleep in the afternoon. Every fortnight the children are weighed. Special regard is paid to their bodily ailments, and every endeavour is made to remedy the deficiency, whatever it may be, that has caused them to be backward.

The method is to ascertain from the different elementary schools the number of those boys and girls whose condition of health necessitates instruction in the open air or apart from ordinary school buildings. The children generally chosen are those suffering from chronic disease of the lungs or the heart, from anæmia and from scrofula —not ill enough to be admitted to a hospital, but too ill to compete with healthy children in school work.

The City Council voted about £1600 for the maintenance of the school for the first year, and they were assisted by a private company who lent the land, and by voluntary subscriptions

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for the buildings. The children are about 132 in number, and those who live at a distance are brought by electric tram before eight o'clock in the morning. They are taken back at night in the same way. In the case of very poor children, the tram fares are defrayed by the municipality. They receive simple nourishing meals at school, beginning with a basin of milk and a slice of brown bread and butter at ten o'clock. Their last meal is half-past six, and at seven they set off for home.

The medical results of the second year's work (1905) are as follows* according to Sir John Gorst :—

(1) The Anæmic. Out of 42 children—24 girls and 18 boys—none had grown worse, 5 were unaltered, 19 had got better, and 18 were cured.

(2) The Scrofulous. Out of 50 children—24 girls and 26 boys—none had grown worse, 6 were unaltered, 34 had got better, and 10 were cured.

(3) Those suffering from Heart Affections. Out of 7 children—4 girls and 3 boys—none had grown worse, none were unaltered, but all had got better. In these diseases, cure is out of the question.

(4) Those with Lung Disease. Out of 12 children—4 girls and 8 boys—none had grown worse, 3 were unaltered, 9 had got better, and none were cured.

Charlottenburg is fortunately not the only open-air school in Germany. Smaller schools have recently been started at Mulhausen, Elberfeld, Munchen-Gladbach and Dresden, while Frankfurt, in unconscious imitation of the Manchester

* "The Children of the Nation," Sir John Gorst, p. 167.

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Country School for Town Children at Knoll's Green, Knutsford, proposes a school which will keep the children there at night instead of returning them to their own homes.

(*b*) *Manchester Country School.* The school at Knutsford referred to was opened four years ago at the instance of Mr. Herbert Phillips. It was due to his generosity and personal interest that this school was started and carried on, first as an experiment, now as a permanent institution, aided and supported by the Manchester Education Committee. The buildings and the equipments of the school are excellent, the idea being to accommodate at least 80 children and their teachers in permanent quarters, providing at the same time sleeping accommodation for a matron and servants, and also an isolation ward in the case of sudden illness. The dormitories are well-ventilated rooms of adequate size, and each child has a separate bed. There is a schoolroom, a dining-room and a large covered playing-shed for wet weather. The total cost of the buildings, furniture, laying out of the ground and water supply, was £2,956. For twenty-four weeks this year (1907) from April to October, about 120 children were accommodated, each for a fortnight, the children being selected from the poorer schools of Manchester, very much on the same principle as at Charlottenburg. The sole charge made by the Committee to the children for their fortnight's stay in the school, including return railway fare, is only 7s. per child. The average cost per child is 11s. 7d. The children are encouraged to give a little assistance out of school hours in the household. The gardens are beautifully laid out, and the gardener gives simple

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instruction in gardening, botany and country life. He often accompanies the children in their country walks, and tells them the names of plants, flowers and trees. Amongst the teachers recently added to the staff is a teacher of games.

Mr. Lionel Smith, Sub-inspector of schools, writes, in November, 1906, as follows:—

"The life of the place is very systematic, and arranged to benefit both body and mind. Plenty of good food and pure air strengthen the one, and regular school hours and well chosen lessons provide for the other. The school hours are almost the same as in the city—from 9 a.m. to 12 noon, and from 2 p.m. to 4.30 p.m. In the morning the lessons are on ordinary lines, with Nature teaching accentuated; in the afternoon the instruction is devoted to Nature alone, and lessons are given in the wood, at the farm, and in the garden, where the flowers and fruits, and its animal kingdom, supply a variety of objects."

"The sleeping arrangements are excellent. Each dormitory holds forty beds, and the lighting, ventilation, and general cleanliness and brightness are all that could be wished. . . Rising at a quarter to seven, the children breakfast at eight, dine at half-past twelve, have tea at half-past five, and supper at eight, retiring at half-past. Plenty of good, plain food is supplied."

(*c*) *Bostall Woods, Woolwich.* The Education Committee of the London County Council has made a small experiment on the lines of Charlottenburg in Bostall Woods, the ground being lent by the Woolwich Arsenal Co-operative Society. For the three summer months, 120 delicate anæmic children, selected from the various elementary

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schools in Woolwich, Deptford and Plumstead, were brought by tram and train to the nearest point, and then taken to their schoolroom in a wide open space, surrounded and shaded by fine oaks and chestnuts. From the schoolroom wooded glades and winding paths open out on all sides, and Nature study becomes a reality and a delight.

The school is supported on the educational side by the London County Council, but the meals are provided by voluntary subscriptions. The time-table of the school has been drawn up with the utmost regard for the health of the little scholars. Many of the classes are given in the open air, and every child has to rest for one-and-a-half hours after dinner. Every child is also weighed and measured once a week. The meals, like the lessons, are taken in the open air, and the effect of the simple but nutritious food eaten under these circumstances is most marked. The school is under the direction of Miss M. H. Gibbs, who has had experience which admirably fits her for this work. It is to be hoped that this valuable object lesson will have its effect, and that other educational authorities will follow in the footsteps of the London County Council.

(7) **Special Schools for Defective Children.** The special schools for defective children divide themselves naturally into two heads:—

(*a*) Mentally defective.

(*b*) Physically defective.

(*a*) *Mentally defective.* The large cities have now all made arrangements for the accommodation of mentally defective children under the Elementary Education (Defective and Epileptic)

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Act, 1899. In London alone there are seventy-nine centres, and of these seventy-five are ordinary special schools for day scholars, and four with classes for older boys. There is also one residential school. The mentally defective children are defined as those who "not being imbecile as yet, by reason of mental or physical defect are unfit to properly benefit in the elementary school." No provision is made as yet for the class that may be termed moral imbeciles.

In 1906-7 the numbers of children examined for admission from April to March for special schools were 6,573, and of these 1,868 were passed as mentally defective, while 1,017 were passed as physically defective; 1,451 were classed as invalids and epileptics.

(*b*) *Physically defective.* Eight years ago the London School Board opened the first invalid centre for children, who, owing to chronic ill-health or physical defects were unable to be taught in the larger schools. The number of centres has largely increased, until at the present moment there are twenty-three such schools, with accommodation for 1,428 children, and with 1,802 children actually on the roll. These schools are dotted about all over London, and each school accommodates from 40 to 100 children, drawn from a district with a radius of one-and-a-half to two miles. Thirty-five ambulances and eleven omnibuses are used to collect the children in the morning, and to take them home in the afternoon. In attendance at each school in addition to the teachers are a qualified nurse, a cook and one or more helpers. A mid-day meal, for which payment is made, is given to the children. Where the children are too poor to pay, it is provided

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at a reduced rate, or in some cases free of cost. A doctor examines on entrance to the school, and makes notes of the various cases. They are periodically inspected until the age of sixteen, when they are passed to leave. A few of these children are semi-blind and semi-deaf—delicate nervous children, quite unfit to mix with the healthy children in a large school. About half are suffering from tuberculous disease of the bones or joints, while a second group of cases include children suffering from various congenital or acquired deformities, the latter chiefly the result of severe rickets. These children require constant medical supervision, and a special education to fit them for such work as their crippled condition will allow. The third class of children includes those with heart disease, epilepsy, progressive forms of paralysis, etc. It is estimated that only 20 per cent. of these children will be able to earn their living at any ordinary form of occupation, while 50 per cent. will be able to work if special skilled work is found for them. The other 30 per cent. will either not live, or will be totally unfit to support themselves.

It ought to be pointed out that in London and in all other towns, even where these schools are in existence, a large number of children are turned out into the world with their physical defects unrecognised or ignored. They naturally join the ranks of the inefficients or the unemployable.

School Hygiene, and the School Premises. Though many of the old schools still remain constructed as in the days when school hygiene was an unknown science, most of the newer buildings are being made to conform with certain

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hygienic requirements, and some, such as those in Brighton, may be described as palaces of hygiene and art combined. Even so we have nothing to compare in England with some of the most recent schools in Germany, such, for example, as the Victoria Schule at Frankfurt. These newer schools are well built, well lighted and well ventilated. Educational authorities are just beginning to understand the great influence upon children of light and warmth and fresh air. It is now well known that the unhygienic schools of the past were responsible not only for the many outbreaks of infectious disease, but also for the general mental inactivity of the children.

The school equipment must also conform to certain hygienic requirements, for example, the desks at which children sit have been in the past responsible for many cases of spinal curvature. These desks must be properly adapted, and in other ways the physical condition of the children must be regarded as the first step towards successful education. It has often been pointed out that in the matter of school desks, it is taken for granted that the clever child increases in physical proportions as rapidly as it acquires information, so that you often find little children sitting at desks only suitable for much bigger scholars, and not infrequently the reverse is also the case.

In Lausanne an examination of 1,000 boys and 1,000 girls revealed the fact that 23 per cent. of the boys and 26.7 of the girls had curvature of the spine. To counteract this, the time during which the children are compelled to sit must be shortened, the play intervals must be increased, and proper school benches adapted to the height of the boy or girl.

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Then it is a common practice to sit children in the full glare facing the window, or else in dark corners, where there is insufficient light; to use blue or red instead of white chalk; to place the blackboard where it is impossible for the child to see the writing without straining its eyes. All these things must be provided against, and medical advice will make such mistakes impossible in the future.

Ventilation and Warming. A healthy atmosphere is essential in the school, and a scientific system of heating and ventilation is of great importance, otherwise the children will suffer from fatigue and will become sleepy. Tuberculosis, headache, lassitude, inattention, are all due to the results of bad air, and if we give the child bad air in the school, as well as bad air in the home, there can be no doubt as to the final issue. Dr. Bailey, of Owen's College, in examining the schools of Manchester and Salford, broke them up into five classes, according to the degree of foul air and smell which prevailed in them. There were no schools in the first and second class, and only two in the third. All schools had more carbonic acid gas in the air than is regarded as healthy, and some more than twice as much. The micro-organisms were very numerous, and in one school 213 per cubic foot were found in the infants' department, 236 in the boys' school, and 286 in the girls' school. Mountain air is free from all such organisms, and even the air of the streets would be pure as compared with this state of things.

It has been pointed out that the warming of the school is no less important; for it is impossible for a child to learn if it is cold, or if the tem-

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perature of the school is intermittent in character. In the German schools it is no uncommon thing to see the engineer go round every hour or two and glance through the little peephole at the thermometer within the class-room, in order that he may ascertain what is exactly the temperature of the room at the time, and whether it is too high or too low. In Ireland, on the other hand, it is often the case in country districts that the children are required to bring a few peat turves when they come to school, in order to keep the fire going during the day—a sort of tax levied on the children or on their parents.

The school must be warm, but the air must be fresh, and if proper precautions are taken, this is not so difficult to attain as people imagine. There should also be a plentiful supply of pure water of easy access; for children require a great deal of cold water, and if they cannot get it pure, will drink it impure.

Organised Play. One of the most important factors in school life is the playground. There are hundreds of schools in our big towns that are lamentably defective in this respect, the excuse being the enormous price of land. Even in this case, roof playgrounds would be possible; but wherever there is space, land should be set aside for playgrounds, and play should be regarded as an essential part of the curriculum. Municipalities have begun to set aside portions of their parks for this purpose, and with paid attendants, both men and women, the children's playground will be a success. In the United States, especially at New York and Chicago, special provision is made in all the public parks and open spaces of the city, and large numbers of paid or voluntary attendants

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are on duty to see that children are taught organised play. In New York the Board of Education has now assumed the work that used to be carried on of vacation schools and playgrounds. Recreation centres are also continued even during the winter. There are playgrounds and play-farms and play-shops, all based on the proposition that there should be continuous use of the entire educational plant of the city. "The impression work of the ordinary school is to be supplemented by expression work, as culture and personality are both necessary to the development of character." It is estimated that nearly £80,000 will be required to maintain this work during the year 1908. The vacation schools in 1907 were thirty-one, and these are increasing rapidly. The vacation playgrounds numbered 100 in 1907, and are to be increased to 125 in 1908. The 810 workers are paid salaries to the amount of over £16,000. The average daily attendance in 1906 was 70,000. The evening recreation centres numbered twenty-six in 1907, and will be thirty-one in 1908, with 211 workers and over £18,000 spent in salaries. The average evening attendance in 1906 was about 10,000. The evening roof playgrounds number eleven, and £2,000 was spent on baths in connection with these playgrounds alone. Altogether there are 1,400 principals, teachers and assistants employed in these play schools.* England is rapidly following in the footsteps of New York in this direction; but organised play is not so common at present as it should be, and compara-

* The Superintendent is Miss Evangeline E. Whitney, 500, Park Avenue, New York, to whom should be addressed all requests for information.

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tively little assistance is given by the education authorities.

(8) Care of the Child outside School Hours.

Children's Country Holidays. The larger the city, the more industrial its nature, the greater the need for the work of such Societies as the Children's Country Holiday Fund, the Fresh Air Fund, etc. We are all agreed that a large majority of the poor children in our big cities should have a summer vacation in the country —such a stay as will increase their bodily health and strength, and enlarge their mental horizon. The change in the pale-faced and anæmic child that is effected by a fortnight's holiday in the country is almost indescribable. For a short time they leave unhealthy dwellings and the polluted atmosphere of the slum and mean street. They get a sufficiency of plain and wholesome food, and abundance of fresh air. It is impossible to exaggerate the importance of this movement, which is destined to grow until every poor child is afforded this opportunity at least once a year.

One of the first attempts to give holidays and to provide "vacation camps" for poor children, was made by the Swiss, Walther Brion, who began with his own town of Zurich in 1876, sending the poor children to the forest and to the mountains. Frankfurt imitated his work in 1878. Dresden, Berlin, Halle, Leipzic, Stuttgart and Vienna soon followed, and now scarcely any large town in Germany or Austria fails to send its poor and sickly children to summer camps for three or four weeks. In France strenuous efforts are being made to introduce "Colonies de Vacances,"

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and a special paper published at Rheims is devoted to the spread of this work.

But it is to Denmark that we owe the first "vacation camp," and a country holiday system which is quite unique. In 1853 cholera raged in Copenhagen and devastated the poorer parts of the city. Many of the children lost their parents, and an appeal was made to the Danish peasantry to receive the children as guests during the summer holidays. This appeal, owing to the dread of the disease, was not wholly successful; but it was renewed the following year, and the railway companies and steamship companies having granted free transportation, the peasants began to receive the children. The Committee in charge found the peasants exceedingly willing to assist, and in many cases farmers not only boarded the children, but gave them new clothes. Since 1881, 34 to 38 per cent. of the children have been sent out into the country during the vacation. Relatives, friends, farmers, peasants —all vie with one another to make the Copenhagen children welcome, the two characteristic features of the Danish system being:—

(1) The placing of the children singly in private homes.

(2) Absolutely free transportation by railroad and steamship.

The number sent free in this way by rail in 1881 was 4,000; in 1906 15,000, and the same year 2,400 were carried by the United Steamship and other companies.

The last six or seven years have witnessed a new development in the formation of vacation camps for those children who could not be cared for in private homes. In one case the Government

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has granted a twenty-five years' lease of a portion of a public forest that stretches right down to the sea, with access to both the wood and the shore. A permanent wooden cottage has been built, combining bed and dining-rooms as well as kitchen, and this experiment has proved to be a complete success.

An interesting movement in the other direction is the return visit paid by the country child to Copenhagen, with its extraordinary educative results. The railways give these children, as well as the teachers, free transportation.

Children's Country Holiday Fund (London). All over the country voluntary associations are engaged in this good work of giving to the poor children of our big industrial towns the chance of a fortnight's holiday in the country. The usual method is to collect the pence from the children or by house to house visits, and then to add to the small sum thus collected, from 2s. to 10s., but usually about 3s. or 4s. in poor districts, whatever is necessary to defray the cost of the holiday. The railways grant reduced fares, and the payment to the cottagers is 5s. a week.

The London Society, although it has done much, is not yet able to send away more than a tithe of the children who are actually in need. In 1906 43,442 children received this holiday; but owing to lack of funds, the number was reduced to about 41,000 in 1907, not a large percentage of the 800,000 children on the rolls of the London and West Ham schools.

Remembering all that Governments of other countries have done to support the voluntary associations which provide holidays for poor children, is it too much to ask that the British

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Government should grant a sum of money, say equal to one third of all the money that is subscribed for country holidays, and in this way assist the good work that is being done without stopping in any degree the flow of charity? It would be a great encouragement to those who year after year are obliged to leave in the town sickly or ailing children, who would greatly benefit by this short holiday.

Vacation Schools. The idea of the Vacation School is American in its origin, and dates back to 1893, when the New York Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor established holiday schools in the public school buildings in some of the poorest districts of New York. In the first instance the funds were privately raised, but in 1898 the Board of Education sanctioned a subsidy of £2,000 for the salaries of teachers in vacation schools. Every year this work has grown steadily, and now nearly 100,000 children find occupation and interest in the vacation schools and playgrounds of New York. Meanwhile, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Newark, and many other cities have imitated the excellent example of New York, and the movement, encouraged by the authorities, and strongly supported by public opinion, is rapidly growing.

The first vacation school in England was opened in London in 1902 at the Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, and to Mrs. Humphrey Ward is due the inception of a work which bids fair to increase in all directions. The Settlement buildings and garden were used for the purpose of the school. Money was subscribed by friends. The London Education Authority lent apparatus and sold materials at cost

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price. The Vacation School staff was appointed from the senior students of Secondary Training Colleges, and the experiment began. Six sessions have now been held, and over a thousand children enrolled at each session, with an average attendance of over 800 per day.

Amongst the schools that have been opened as a result of this successful experiment are Walworth, in connection with the Browning Settlement; Canning Town, in connection with the Women's Settlement; Stratford, in connection with the Trinity College, Oxford, Mission; Camberwell, organised by the United Girls' School Mission; and Woolwich.

The usual period for this school is five days a week during the four weeks of the summer vacation, with two sessions a day. The lessons are usually of thirty-five minutes' duration, and the curriculum includes woodwork, modelling, basket work, musical drill, and organised games, gymnastics, dancing, the singing of old English songs, clay-modelling, drawing, brush work, knitting, story-telling, Nature study, cookery and housewifery. The little ones have Kindergarten, games and songs, and sand-digging, while special drawing instruction is given on the lines of the Philadelphian system of Mr. Liberty Tadd's Art School.

The cost works out at 1s. 6d. per child per week, and small as it is, it can hardly be expected that voluntary funds will be forthcoming to meet the needs of the hundreds of thousands of children in London alone who would be benefitted by such a Vacation School. It is to be hoped that the educational authorities will not shrink from the small extra expenditure which these schools

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would entail, but will at any rate encourage the work by granting subsidies large enough to make extensions possible.

Children's Happy Evenings.

For eighteen years there has been in existence a Society, the object of which is to provide recreative evenings in the London County Council School buildings for the children attending the Council Schools. The President of the Council is the Countess of Jersey, and the Hon. Secretary is Miss Ada Heather-Bigg.

These evenings of play are now provided for 153 girls and boys' departments in 87 schools, in 49 London districts. The time usually devoted to this form of organised play and amusement is two hours, and something like 1,500 voluntary workers are engaged in the task of bringing brightness and happiness into the lives of the London school children. The "evening" begins with a march round the central hall, after which the children break up into sections, and enter different class-rooms to look at picture books, to paint, to play with tea-things and dolls, to listen to fairy stories, to learn to make furniture for a doll's house, to mend toys, to manufacture small gifts for parents and relatives, sometimes to make scrap books for hospitals. The boys, on their part, have games that are suited to them. In the central hall, meanwhile, musical games are in progress, and the evening is closed with the singing of songs.

Similar work is now being started in the provinces. At Oxford, Plymouth, Middlesex and Manchester there are affiliated associations, and the work is

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spreading rapidly. The work of the Association commends itself to all who have the interest of the school children at heart, and it is especially needed in the poor districts, where, but for the school, the only place in which the children can play is the street.

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CHAPTER V.

MEDICAL INSPECTION.

"It is apparent that there is a gradual awakening of the nation to the fact that the care of the physical nature of the child during the school period is of fundamental importance from the point of view of the future welfare and efficiency of the nation."

—PROFESSOR DARROCH.

THERE is now little diversity of opinion on the question of the medical inspection of School children. Most thinking people are agreed that it is necessary both in the interest of the individual and the State. This feeling has been crystallised in the Education (Administrative Provisions) Act of 1907, which makes medical inspection compulsory, and we may hope that the next generation will witness a great improvement in the health and physique of its children.

Historic Survey of Medical Inspection. As a nation we cannot be said to have taken "a leap in the dark" in regard to this matter, for nearly all European countries are ahead of us in instituting medical inspection. Brussels led the van in 1874, Paris followed in 1879, Antwerp in 1882, Hungary in 1887, Moscow in 1888, Germany and Norway in 1891, Switzerland in 1894. The United States and Japan have also done valuable

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work in this direction and bid fair to outstrip all other nations except perhaps Germany. In most of these countries inspection is compulsory, and their experience proves incontrovertibly that such an undertaking is not only humane but economically sound.

England has not lagged altogether behind. Various tentative experiments have been made, and with marked success. In 1891 the London School Board appointed its first Education Medical Officer, and Bradford followed the lead in 1893. Since then other enlightened Educational bodies have instituted a certain amount of inspection, until at the present time there are over eighty doing more or less effective work on these lines. Such action has been entirely spontaneous on their part, and to some extent vitiated by the fact that they were compelled to work within the powers conferred upon them by Section 35 of the Education Act of 1870, which allows Education authorities to appoint "necessary officers." This limitation is now removed, and, by law, a system of medical inspection is made both *compulsory* and *uniform*, over the whole country, under the direct control of the Central Education Authority, assisted by a Medical Board.

Arguments raised against Medical Inspection.—There seem to be two reasons for the long delay in taking this necessary step: first, the fear of interfering with and weakening parental responsibility, and second, the fear of the ratepayer.

In reply to the first objection, Sir John Gorst has aptly remarked, "If you must choose between the two, save the child and let the parent go." Many will, of course, take exception to this, bnt, as a matter of fact, the nation is agreed

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that there are certain cases and special circumstances when this is the only course open.

In reply to the objection of expense, we would point out that though the initial cost may be heavy, the ultimate burden upon the nation is far less. Indeed, the probability is, that, taking into account the saving that would be effected in our hospitals, prisons and asylums, the community would be greatly the gainer. A saving would also be effected in the immediate present by reducing the number of school days that are lost owing to sickness and disease. Dr. J. T. Cronin, of New York, stated before the recent International Congress on School Hygiene that in a public school population of 650,000 it was estimated that 195,000 children lost one year of school study in every six through ill-health. And since the education of each child cost the city about £4 a year, the loss, in children's time, of each school year would amount to over £330,000. Medical inspection, rightly carried out, would considerably diminish such unnecessary expense.

Arguments in favour of Medical Inspection. The arguments which may be urged in favour of medical inspection, briefly stated, are as follows :—

(1) Education being compulsory, and conclusive proof having been given that many scholars in our elementary schools are physically incapable of receiving the education imparted to them, and in some cases are even suffering as a direct result of it, then, *on the score of humanity alone,* it becomes our duty to safeguard the health of these children.

(2) *From the point of view of economy,* it is only reasonable that before beginning the education of a child we should attempt to find out whether

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it will repay the time and money spent upon it. The stronger a child is physically, the better return, as a general rule, does it give educationally, while many children are unable, through ill-health or mental deficiency, to yield any return whatever. Such " unproductive education " is a clear national loss, which might be saved by medical inspection. The schools of Charlottenberg and Berlin found, after establishing inspection, that 12.3 per cent. of the children examined on admission were rejected as being unfit for the ordinary work of the school.

(3) Medical inspection is *a safe and sure guide to the appropriate course of education*, mental and physical. Dr. Kerr discovered that, of 2,353 children of the age of ten years, traced through the L.C.C. schools, 12 per cent. were still in Standards I. and II., and evidently not profiting as they should from the education offered. Dunfermline found that 11 per cent. of her scholars yielded equally unsatisfactory returns. Medical inspection would have enabled the authorities to classify these children in a more scientific way, adapting school work to the mental powers of the child.

In the same way, inspection has shown that military drill and other physical exercises, instituted in schools on a universal and uniform plan, have been most detrimental to the health of a certain number of children. At the present time, fortunately, a much more scientifically adapted scheme of physical exercises is being evolved to meet the needs of children of varying physique.

(4) Care for the health of each individual child obviously *tends to safeguard the health of the whole community*. In the past many a costly

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epidemic might have been checked at the outset, had medical inspection been a common practice. Outbreaks of such diseases as Measles, Whooping-cough, Diphtheria, to say nothing of infectious skin troubles, have frequently been traced to lack of a proper system of inspection in our elementary schools.

(5) It is an undoubted fact that *many of the physical defects of children are remediable, but tend through lapse of time to become permanently disabling.* If discovered as a result of medical inspection and then properly treated, the child would, in many instances, become a useful and healthy member of society. Both from the point of view of the individual and of the State this is the argument that will, perhaps, carry most weight. The nation needs healthy citizens. Strong men and women are its true capital, its real and substantial wealth, and it is beginning to see how its desire may be fulfilled.

Determining factors in bringing about Medical Inspection. Growing interest in the study of the child problem, and the cry of " physical deterioration " were probably more responsible than anything else in turning the nation's attention to the health of school children in general, and to the question of medical inspection in particular. The interest aroused culminated in 1903 in the publication of the Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training in Scotland, followed in 1904 by the report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration. Evidence given before these Commissions showed that physical defects existed amongst school children to a far greater extent than had been imagined, and so urgent was the statement made by many

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witnesses that the Commissioners felt it necessary to recommend medical inspection. This recommendation had a double object in view:

(1) To prove how far the statements of witnesses were correct, and might be relied on.

(2) As a first step towards checking any deterioration in the national physique that might be found to exist.

Statistics of ill-health amongst School Children. It will be interesting to note some points in the evidence given before these Commissions, after which we shall attempt to show that recent investigations have only corroborated their findings. Anything like an exhaustive series of quotations from the evidence offered is, of course, impossible, and we can only give a few of the more striking illustrations.

An Examination of School children in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, undertaken by Dr. Leslie Mackenzie and Professor Matthew Hay, showed these children to be suffering from the following physical defects in the proportion appended:—

	Edinburgh.	Aberdeen.
	per cent.	per cent.
In poor health	19.17	—
Badly nourished	29.83	9
Mentally dull	—	8.8
Diseased glands (tubercular)	18.5	2.6
Nose and throat defects (at least half being adenoids)	52.54	30.0
Lung disease	3.0	1.8
Heart disease	4.33	1.0
Defective vision	31.67	23.9
Defective hearing	42.04	14.0

Another interesting investigation was that undertaken by the Dundee Social Union, under the direction of Miss Mona Wilson. In this

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report the particulars of different schools enable us to make comparison between the children of the labourer and the artisan, and show conclusively how little schooling can do for ill-nourished children suffering from diseases which require medical care, or those hindered from learning by defective sight and hearing. The handicapping effect of bad health conditions is seen in the tables of "Nutrition," which contrast a school in the Blackness district (a fairly well-to-do neighbourhood), with two schools in densely populated and insanitary areas.

NUTRITION.

	Stout.	Medium.	Thin.
Blackness	38.31	56.49	5.20
Cowgate	14.91	74.08	11.11
Brown Street	15.15	68.69	16.16

These figures correspond almost exactly with those furnished as to "Health Appearance," where Blackness with its 61.04 per cent. of "good" health appearance, contrasts painfully with Cowgate's 6.48 per cent.

More recent investigations have proved the correctness, in their main contentions, of these earlier reports. The 1906 Report of the London County Council Education Committee contains the figures of Dr. Kerr's examination of 3,728 scholarship candidates. These ought to have been up to, or above the average in physical condition, but 24 per cent. were "referred back" on account of unsatisfactory conditions such as defective vision and hearing, throat affections, heart disease, or dental troubles. Then again,

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of the ordinary elementary scholars in two schools, between 50 and 60 per cent. appeared in the category of "indifferent nutrition;" while regular medical inspection of 35,402 children elicited the facts given in the table opposite:—

During the year 1907 Dr. Ralph Crowley published a Report of the Bradford Elementary Schools, and his facts and figures may be taken as fairly representative of other large manufacturing towns. The average weight and height of both boys and girls not only in the poorer, but also in the better class schools, is considerably below the standard of the Anthropometric Committee. Other facts are as follows:—

	Per cent.
Poor or very poor nutrition	13
Mental capacity { below average	18
Mental capacity { dull	5.5
Defective vision	11
Defective hearing (actually deaf)	5.5
Defective teeth .. 32 per cent. with less than 4 decayed.	
60 per cent. with over 4 decayed.	

Even the health of public schoolboys from the wealthier classes of Society leaves much to be desired, as shown in a paper read by Dr. Clement Dukes at the recent International Congress on School Hygiene. The following is his record of the examination of 1,000 boys on their admission to Rugby.

	Per cent.
Height below normal	36.5
Weight below normal	47.1
Chest measurement below normal	43.3

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Routine Medical Examinations of Scholars in the three Months.

	Vision, Urgent cases.	Hearing.	Throat and Nose.	Speech.	Dirt.	Physically Defective.	Mentally Defective.	Other objects.
Provided Schools.								
Returned as defective on head teachers' lists ..	320	1,704	—	1,451	—	2,753	1,438	—
Returned by doctor—								
(*a*) From head teachers' list ..	299	888	—	429	—	1,409	455	—
(*b*) For special schools examination ..	2	3	—	5	—	35	307	—
(*c*) From children examined in their classes	994	810	2,008	—	119	—	—	1,440
Non-provided Schools.								
Returned as defective on head teachers' lists ..	568	1,291	—	1,211	—	1,339	1,052	—
Returned by doctor—								
(*a*) From head teachers' lists ..	371	1,017	—	584	—	668	375	—
(*b*) For special schools examination ..	7	18	—	2	—	34	335	—
(*c*) From children examined in their classes	825	572	1,876	—	171	—	—	743

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It might be added that over 8 per cent. had nervous peculiarities and over 20 per cent. defective vision.

Consequences of Neglected Health in Childhood. A mass of similar evidence might be adduced if required, but we have said enough to show the need for careful investigation into the physical condition of school children. As a school doctor once remarked: "Whether or no there be any actual degeneration of the race, *there is no question as to the deterioration of many of its individual members*, and in the physical condition of many of the children there is cause for real alarm."

Undoubtedly this fear is justified, not only because the defects noted are serious in themselves, but for two other reasons at least:—

(1) Physical defects in children may always be *progressive*, becoming more marked with the growth of the child.

(2) The evils resulting from the initial physical defect *may spread to other parts of the body*, and still further complicate the disease from which the child suffers.

This latter fact alone would be sufficient reason for medical inspection, and only two examples are required to prove the correctness of the statement. A large number of school children (frequently as many as 30 per cent.) suffer from *Adenoids, i.e.*, growths which block the back of the nasal passages and make mouth-breathing, instead of the correct nose-breathing, a necessity. This sounds as if it might be a comparatively innocuous condition, but, as a matter of fact, *mental dullness* often results, *deafness* is an almost invariable consequence, while a tendency to

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Bronchitis and lung affections, also the risk of taking infectious diseases, is enormously increased by reason of the mouth-breathing. All these dangers might be avoided by recognition of the condition early in school life, followed by treatment. Exactly the same may be said of *defective teeth.* Serious inflammation of the soft tissues of the mouth frequently follow neglected and defective teeth. It may result in the formation of an abscess, or the bone may become diseased, or the glands enlarged, with a predisposition to tubercular infection. These are only some of many evil results, which might be obviated by proper hygiene of the teeth and their supervision by a dental surgeon.

Methods of Carrying out Medical Inspection. We have said enough to show how far-reaching and serious may be the consequences of apparently trivial physical defects, and we take it for granted that the case for medical inspection of school children has been proved up to the hilt. The next point which naturally arises is a consideration of the method by which such inspection shall be carried on. The different conditions of schools will no doubt necessitate slight variation in the method of examination, but on the following cardinal points all experts are agreed :—

(1) *The System of Examination must be uniform* so that results may be compared, and accurate deductions drawn. Fortunately this is ensured by the institution of a Central Medical Board at Whitehall which will direct and co-ordinate the medical work of all local Education Authorities.

(2) *The preliminary Examination must be made on the admission of each child to the school,* with a view to ascertaining whether it is physically and

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mentally fitted for the Education offered, and whether it shall be placed (*a*) in the ordinary elementary school, (*b*) in a *modified* elementary school, such as the Mannheim "Hilfs-classe," or (*c*) in a special school.

(3) *The Examination must be repeated at stated and not too distant intervals of time* with a view to following the progressive development of the child, and discovering whether it is in any way suffering from the results of school work. In the case of children known to have physical defects, still more frequent examinations would be advisable. As to the detail method of such examination, the *Wiesbaden system*, which is largely followed throughout Germany, has much to recommend it. By this system each child is examined on admission to the elementary school, and has a health card given, on which all the details of the physical examination are entered. It is then signed up as "good, fair, or bad." Every six months each child is weighed and measured by the teacher. The boy or girl with a "good" health card is only re-examined by the doctor in the third, fifth and last year of school life. Those who possess "bad" health cards are kept under supervision by the teacher and are seen by the doctor every fortnight. Added to this, the doctor conducts a general survey of each class four times a year and picks out for examination, from amongst the scholars, any who seem to be below par.

(4) *In all cases the result of the physician's examination must be entered up and held for reference at the school* during the whole period of a child's education. This register should contain the results of the following examination: (*a*) height; (*b*) weight; (*c*) general nutrition; (*d*) chest measure-

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ment ; (*e*) condition of heart and lungs ; (*f*) special senses, *i.e.* sight and hearing ; (*g*) condition of nose and throat ; (*h*) condition of teeth ; (*i*) condition of the skin ; (*j*) special of bones and joints ; (*k*) mental condition.

(5) *Medical inspection should also include a careful supervision of the school premises,* since the environment of the child is almost as important a consideration as its physical condition.

Assistance given by Teachers. The work of medical inspection will, of course, be mainly carried out by doctors, but there is no doubt that just as teachers have given very great help in the past, so they are likely to prove of even greater use in the future. This does not mean that the actual business of inspection in any of its branches will devolve upon them, for their work is sufficiently responsible without this added duty, even if they were competent to do it. But it is clear that as their interest in the physical condition of the children is quickened and their powers of observation enlarged, they will be better able to recommend to the doctor those children standing in need of special supervision, and in the matter of hygiene especially they will co-operate in a desirable and most effective way with the medical superintendent.

Medical Inspection as a Preliminary Measure. Medical inspection *per se* will not, in the majority of cases, directly affect the child's health for good. Wherever the ordinary curriculum is modified for individual children, on the doctor's advice, it will have such an effect, also in so far as it deals with the school premises, in matters of sanitation, ventilation, lighting and heating, thereby improving the school environ-

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ment. Otherwise it will do comparatively little for the child, and the recognition of this fact brings us to the most controversial point in the question under consideration; viz., "*Shall medical inspection of school children be followed by treatment?*" That is to say, shall the city and the State take the responsibility of treating the disease after it has been recognised?

There are many who feel that the responsibility of treatment should rest entirely with the parents, and there is, of course, much to be said for that view, on the ground that parental responsibility may otherwise be weakened. Nevertheless, it is interesting to note that many are being forced to the opposite conclusion, and Dr. Kerr, who was previously opposed to school treatment, says in his latest Report, "A point has been reached where the question of rigid adhesion to the policy of excluding any medical treatment from the educational branch of the Public Health department may have to be carefully reconsidered."

Neglect of Children's Health by Parents. Those Education Authorities who, up to the present, have carried on medical inspection, commenced any attempt at remedial measures by sending out notices to parents after inspection, stating the condition of their child's health and advising them to obtain the requisite medical treatment. In many places no further steps were taken by the authorities. In others, however, the matter was so urgent and the disregard of parents to notices so appalling, that further action seemed imperative. One measure adopted was, to exclude the child from school, pending the requisite attention to his physical condition, and then to summon the parents for non-attendance of the

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child if it did not return within a specified time. Even such an extreme measure as this often failed in the desired result. As a consequence, many who were previously opposed to relieving parents of the responsibility of attending to their children's health began to feel that school treatment must be resorted to, not only in the interest of the individual child, but in the interests of the whole community.

Nurses in the Schools. Accordingly the London County Council and a few other Education Authorities set aside nurses, not only for the work of examination under the supervision of school doctors, but also for the treatment of minor ailments such as cuts and bruises, burns, skin conditions, sore eyelids, etc. Thirty-two nurses are now engaged in such work for the L.C.C. These nurses also report on the uncleanliness of children and assist in carrying out what is known as the "Cleansing Scheme."

Whether their work in London will ever assume proportions similar to what has already been done in New York remains to be seen. That city began in 1902 by establishing a corps of twelve nurses who examined, but did not treat. The next year it was found necessary to increase the number and powers of the nurses, with the result that in 1905 there were fifty nurses assigned to the different boroughs of greater New York. Their duties, by that time, consisted in routine inspection of eyes, hands, throat and hair, and in certain cases, the treating of minor ailments. During the summer when the children were not at school the nurses carried on "summer corps" work and visited in the homes." The following is a summary of the work done by them in 1905:

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Number of children examined	1,351,083
Tenements visited	40,070
Schools visited	25,943

The same work on an even more extended scale is being carried on at the present time.

Doctors and Dentists in the Schools. It seems probable that in our own country the treatment of minor ailments by nurses under the school-doctor's supervision will prove the line of least resistance along which Education Authorities will prefer to move. We must realise, however, that the powers of nurses in this direction are distinctly limited. Serious conditions, such as defective vision, where glasses are the only method of treatment, Adenoids, where operation is imperative, dental defects necessitating stoppings and extractions, can only be treated by doctors and dentists, and the really controversial question is: Shall the Education Authorities through their Medical Superintendents make themselves responsible for the treatment of these more serious cases? As we have already stated, experts who were once opposed to State treatment are now becoming convinced that it will have to be resorted to for the following reasons:—

(1) That amongst the poorest class of children, where there is most disease, the notices recommending treatment that are sent out after medical inspection are largely ignored—generally as a result of sheer carelessness and ignorance.

(2) That the parents cannot afford to carry out the necessary remedial measures. While hospital treatment overcomes the objection of expense in some instances, it does not meet every case.

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Record of Treatment following Inspection in other Countries. The most notable examples of what has been done by doctors in elementary schools are to be found in Germany and the United States. Both these countries recognise that industrial efficiency cannot be secured without such care of the physique as the school doctor implies, and accordingly the Education Authority takes upon itself full responsibility for the physical welfare of the children under its control. Germany for instance, already possesses 670 school doctors. 127 of these are at work in Berlin and the statistics of the Central Medical Department for 1905 show that they examined 34,562 newly registered scholars, of whom 8.5 per cent. were "referred back," while 23.7 per cent. were placed under oversight. Nearly 80 per cent. of the children examined were found to have deficient sight.

The dentist, like the oculist, is in nearly all German schools, and at Darmstadt, Wiesbaden, Mulhausen and Strasburg, a regular inspection of children's teeth is made. At the latter town, there is a dental surgery for school children (Schulzahnklinik), an institution entirely supported by the municipality. Two qualified dentists work under the direction of Dr. Jessen and they often examine and treat as many as 100 children a day. In 1906 over 4372 children had their teeth seen to, and the number of teeth receiving attention of one kind or another amounted to 21,878 of which 7,065 were fillings and 7,985 extractions. A register is kept of each child examined and opposite each name is a coloured diagram of all the teeth and any that are unsound are marked in red ink.

We are now in a position to sum up what seems

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likely to be the course of medical inspection and treatment in England. As a result of past experience and present legislation the local Education Authorities will initiate a system of compulsory medical inspection under the supervision of the Central Medical Board, and it follows almost as a matter of course that a staff of nurses proportionate to the size of the town will be engaged to assist doctors in the routine work of inspection and in carrying out the treatment of minor ailments.

There is little doubt that in the course of time it will be found necessary in the interests of the nation as a whole to deal with the most serious cases of disease. Whatever the cost in the immediate present, such medical inspection and treatment will in the end prove a preventive and therefore economic measure. The standard of health can gradually be raised and the need for inspection will tend to disappear. The community will thus clearly gain by the efforts now being put forward in this department of child life.

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CHAPTER VI.

FEEDING OF SCHOOL CHILDREN.

"Defective nutrition lies at the base of all forms of degeneracy."—DR. EICHHOLZ.

AS a result of the systematic inspection of children, which is now compulsory in our elementary schools, we shall be in possession of more accurate information as to the underfed child, and shall, therefore, find ourselves in a better position to deal with the question of school feeding. Should immediate assistance to certain children prove necessary, there will be no need for delay, as the Education (Provision of meals) Act, 1906, makes the feeding of school children a possibility as soon as Education Authorities recognise the need. Compulsory medical inspection carried on in every school will give the added impetus that is required for this movement, although in reality we already have sufficient evidence at hand that a very large number of children are suffering physically from chronic malnutrition.

That evidence, so far as England and Scotland are concerned, is derived from three official sources.

(1) The report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Medical Inspection and Feeding of Children attending public elementary schools.

(2) The Report of the Royal Commission on Physical Training (Scotland).

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(3) The Report of the Committee on Physical Deterioration.

This last report treats the evidence under three heads :—

(*a*) The extent to which underfeeding prevails at present.

(*b*) Existing voluntary methods of providing food.

(*c*) Proposals with regard to the more systematic feeding of children.

We propose to follow the same arrangements, laying more stress, however on Section C, since the new Act has definitely empowered the local Education Authority to provide meals whenever required, while the Board of Education has suggested by circular the methods which might be employed.

A.—Extent to which underfeeding prevails at present. There is now a general consensus of opinion that far too little attention has, in the past, been given to this all important question of the underfed and badly nourished child. Every fresh inquiry goes to show that lack of food or lack of *proper* food leads to serious deterioration in physique, and lies at the root of many of the evils that affect child life. There are some social reformers who go so far as to say that this question of feeding school children is the most urgent problem of the time, while Dr. Hall of Leeds who for many years has taken a deep practical interest in the whole subject considers that the proper feeding of children is of even greater importance than medical inspection.

Of all the evidence offered to the Committee on Physical Deterioration, none was more interesting

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and more emphatic than that of Dr. Eichholz,* one of His Majesty's Inspectors, who said: "I hold a very firm opinion which is shared by medical men, members of Education Committees, managers, teachers and others conversant with the condition of school children, that food is at the base of all the evils of child degeneracy; that is to say, if we take steps to ensure the proper, adequate feeding of children, the evil will rapidly cease."

Statistics of Underfeeding. It is difficult to ascertain the number of underfed children in any school or town, since opinions differ and data afforded by inquiries have, until recently, been quite inadequate. But Dr. Eichholz estimated, on the basis of the voluntary feeding agencies, that approximately 122,000 or 16 per cent. of the Elementary school population of London were underfed. From a special investigation into the conditions of the Johanna Street Board School, Lambeth, situated in a very bad district, he estimated that 90 per cent. of the children in that school were unable by reason of their physical condition to attend properly to their work, while 33 per cent. required feeding during six months of the year, from October to March. His statements as to the number of children underfed in London have been controverted on the ground. that, while he is right in showing that the centres and various agencies feed three times as many children during the season as are fed on any one day, he does not prove that all the children fed at School centres were actually in need. Certain members of the late London School Board varied

* Now appointed to the Medical Board of the Education Department.

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in their estimate from 10,000 to 60,000,* but their figures were based upon the work done by the London Dinners Association. Whether Dr. Eichholz be correct in his estimate or not does not really affect the situation, provided that the need be great enough to justify intervention. As to this point there can be no doubt, since he is supported by Dr. Niven, Medical Officer for Manchester, and Dr. Chalmers of Glasgow, while Dr. W. Leslie McKenzie, Medical Officer to the Local Government Board of Scotland has stated that in the slums of Edinburgh a very large proportion of the children were half starved.

Causes of Underfeeding. The fact that children are underfed and badly nourished is not necessarily accounted for by *poverty* of the parents, though this is frequently the cause. It may be due to *wilful neglect* or *ignorance*. If neglect can be proved, Section 2 of the Act already referred to enables the Local Authority to recover the cost of the meals. Ignorance of the parents as a cause of underfeeding is less easily dealt with, yet it must be combated; for there is little doubt that where they are well informed as to food values and careful in the choice of food, their children are physically healthier and better nourished, even though the family wage be small and inadequate. Dr. Hall instituted a comparison between Jewish and Gentile children in the poor schools of Leeds, and this is his remark:—

'I was struck with the difference between Jew and Gentile. I examined 2,700 children, and at eight

* Sir Wm. Anson said, in the House of Commons: "There are more than 60,000 children in London alone who are physically inferior and who cannot, therefore, get the benefit of the schools."

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years old the poor Jewish child was on the average three pounds heavier and two inches taller than his Gentile comrade. At ten the Jew has the advantage of 6¼ pounds in weight and 2½ inches in height, and at twelve the difference is 7 pounds in weight and 2½ inches in height. Fifty per cent. of the Gentile children had rickets, and only seven per cent. of the Jews."

Elsewhere he says "ninety per cent. of Jewish infants are fed at the breast, and often infants have an abundance of fat-making, flesh-forming and antiscorbutic food. Oil, milk, eggs, fish, potatoes, sugar, fruit and vegetables form their staple articles of diet, poverty-stricken though many of them are. Hence it comes to pass within the slums of Leeds that children of the Jew excel in weight and in general body and framework." This ignorance on the part of Gentile parents must be removed, not only by the teaching of Hygiene and Cookery in the Schools, but also by actual feeding of the child, as this has been proved to be almost the best way of teaching a parent.

B.—Existing Voluntary Methods and Agencies. There are not wanting those who think that even Voluntary Agencies—after taking all possible precautions—run serious risk of undermining parental responsibility. They are, as a rule, willing to incur this risk, however, providing that payment is made for the whole or part of the food supplied.

Mrs. Bosanquet states the case for *non-interference* admirably in "The Strength of the People" (page 209), and her arguments would be perfectly sound if she were right in her judgment that the social conditions of to-day allow of parents meeting their responsibilities. What we know of the

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history of our industrial system, and, indeed, our knowledge of present day inequalities, makes it impossible for us to ignore the terrible responsibility of the State for much of the evil which is to be found in the home.

At any rate, nothing could be more ill-advised than the policy of leaving children whose parents are neglectful or ignorant to go unfed and uncared for, since it is only when they are in a proper state of physical health that they are able to benefit by our free but costly Education system.

That the child *must* be fed is the *sine qua non* of the educationist as well as of the doctor; if not at home, then at school, whatever steps may afterwards be taken to impress their responsibility upon neglectful or ignorant parents.

At the present time a large number of towns have, through voluntary agencies, made some attempt to provide for the unfed children of elementary schools. In London the principal agencies that have been at work are:—London School Dinners Association (Mr. G. R. Sims' *Referee* Fund); the Destitute Children's Dinner Society; East Lambeth Teachers' Dinner Association; Southwark Free Meals Fund.

Under the London School Board a joint Committee was formed to prevent overlapping amongst these various agencies, and in every case a certain proportion of the children contributed the whole or a part of the cost of the food provided, according to the statement of Dr. Eichholz 5 per cent. in the case of the London Dinners Association and 25 per cent. in the case of the Destitute Children's Dinner Society. Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh and between eighty and ninety other towns have all, during the past winters, had voluntary Com-

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mittees at work supplying in a greater or lesser degree the need of these underfed children. The method, as a rule, is to charge one penny or a half-penny for a bowl of soup and a slice of bread and jam, giving free tickets to such children as are reported by teachers and managers to be unable to pay this small sum. In many towns the children are not fed regularly, but they have to take their turn with other children, receiving dinner on the average twice a week. This is an obvious mistake, for the root principle of the undertaking is not to feed many children now and then, but to feed the really poor children regularly, so that their chances of profiting by the teaching at school shall become more equal.

C.—The Systematic Feeding of School Children. Now that we have made provision by law for the feeding of school children, it is possible for the local Education Authority to take such steps as they think fit to provide meals for those children who are in attendance at any public elementary schools and in the following way. We quote directly from two sections of clause No. 1 of the Act.

(1) "May associate with themselves any committee on which the Authority are represented, who will undertake to provide food for those children (in this Act called the School Canteen Committee)"; and

(2) "May aid that Committee by furnishing such land, buildings, furniture and apparatus, and such officers and servants as may be necessary for the organisation, preparation and service of such meals."

The local Authority may not, however, incur any expense in respect of the purchase of food, except

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in cases where, after full inquiry, it has been *ascertained* that the parent is unable to pay the necessary expense through no fault of his own. It will be seen that the Act is based on the evidence of the Committee already referred to, and although it goes further than possibly the Charity Organisation Society would wish, yet in the main it satisfies the views of those who hold that the child should be fed, but that the neglectful parent should pay for the feeding. The local Authority is able to recover the cost from the parents wherever it is shown that they have been lazy or neglectful of their children. An attempt in this direction was made in 1905 in connection with the Poor Law Guardians. Largely as a result of the action taken by Sir John Gorst, Dr. Macnamara, M.P., and others, on the 26th April of that year, the Local Government Board issued an order, pointing out that it was the duty of Guardians to afford requisite relief to any child destitute of food, and to recover the cost of such relief from the father, where he could afford to pay it. The order has been either a dead letter, or an absolute failure, and is of course now superseded by the Act of 1906. As Sir John Gorst has said, "it was the best makeshift without legislation, and the Government at the time was incompetent to carry out any thorough legislation."

School Feeding on the Continent. The examples of school feeding to be found on the continent are largely voluntary, with municipal or state subsidies; but some cities such as Milan, and many French provincial towns, provide free meals for children who are certified as destitute, while the Parisian "Cantines scolaires" provide meals for all at a small charge, and give free tickets to the children of parents who are too poor to pay.

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No certificate is required and no distinction is made. A special sanitary commissioner of the *Lancet* visited some of these continental municipalities, and from that report we are able to give illustrations of the methods employed in different towns. We take as examples of these methods Brussels, Milan and Paris. Some brief account of each may help us in determining how far the new Act is sufficient to meet our needs in England, (for Scotland has to wait for a time), and how far it requires to be supplemented by further legislation.

Brussels is a city of some 600,000 inhabitants, the schools of which are of two sorts, Free Schools managed by the priests, and Communal Schools managed by the municipality. It is with the latter that we are concerned. The number of children attending the Communal Schools for primary, secular, free education, amount to 13,994, and from November, 1903, to March, 1904, about one out of five received meals of soup and bread. Towards the cost of this, the city gave £400; it also gave £200 to the Free Schools, while in addition 679 children attending Kindergarten schools were regularly fed. Some fifty per cent. of the children also received a gift of clothing, and the need for clothing seems to be greater than that of food, which the continental housewife is always able to prepare in a cheap and nutritious form.

Milan began by subsidising a Voluntary Committee, but found the working impractical, and now the entire administration is in the hands of the city and its representatives. The number of children attending the eighty Free Primary Schools is about 46,000, and of these 33 per cent. receive their meals gratuitously at school, while from 17

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per cent. to 20 per cent. pay for their meals. These free meals are very readily given, but the parent must send a written demand to the municipality, and that demand is followed by an inquiry. The deciding factor is generally the size of the family. These meals cost the city about £12,000 a year, and the tendency is to increase the number of meals and therefore the cost. The nearer the school is to the outskirts of the town the larger is the number of free meals supplied, and this is due to the fact that such schools are attended by the children of agricultural workers in the immediate vicinity. At first the meals were cold, and consisted of bread and sausage, but six of the larger schools have now their own kitchens and dining rooms, and supply hot meals to 4,500 children.

Paris. The final step which made compulsory the system known as "Cantine scolaires" was taken by the law of March 28th, 1882. Article 17 of the Law enacted that "the School Fund, instituted by Article 15 of the Law of April 10th, 1867, shall be established in all the Communes;" so that every district was compelled to start a school fund, out of which the "Cantines scolaires" were maintained. This fund considers the question of food, of clothing, and of holidays. It is, of course, with the first that we are concerned. Generally speaking the School Fund has three Committees to take charge of these three departments, and the Central Committee is presided over by the Mayor. Voluntary subscribers to the fund elect out of their own number twenty to twenty-four Committee men, so that both the Local Authority and the local subscribers are fully represented. Ladies are pressed into the service

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of the children, and lady delegates to the Canteens must visit the schools under their charge at least once a week. In February, 1881, the question was raised as to whether the children of those parents who were in receipt of poor relief might not be given a meal while at school, and the Montmartre district at once arranged to carry out this service, which the municipality subsidised. This system has now become almost universal. The cost is about 1½d. per meal of soup, meat and vegetables. All the children, whether poor or not, eat their meals together, and generally speaking the food furnished at the school is as good as, if not better than the food to be obtained at home. Although there is a considerable amount of free feeding, no distinction whatever is made between the two classes. Each child passes through an office and receives a ticket either with or without payment as the case may be. Only the officer in charge of the office knows who has paid and who has not; but the parents of those who do not pay are visited and a full inquiry is made. If the father is at work and has only one or two children, the free ticket is probably refused; but it is never refused to widows or to small wage-earners with large families. Whatever action may be taken with regard to the parents, it is considered that the child should not suffer and certainly should not be humiliated. Some children pay a less sum than 1½d., in order that they may feel that the food is not wholly a charity. The meal is served at 11.30 a.m. and the universal testimony is that nothing could be better than the choice of the food and the method of cooking it. In fact, so good is it that well-to-do children have no hesitation whatever in taking this meal, and teachers state that it is

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both wholesome and satisfying. The school Medical Officers sometimes prescribe larger meals for certain children, and to those that are weakly cod-liver oil is given in winter, and syrup of iodide of iron in summer. The number of children who receive free meals varies with the district. In the Eppinette district only twenty per cent. pay for their meals; at Batignolles some forty per cent. and in the wealthier districts as many as sixty per cent. or seventy per cent. The cost is defrayed partly out of voluntary contributions, as we have explained, and partly by the Municipal Council, which during the last three years has contributed in all some £40,000. Generally speaking, it must be admitted that the "Cantines scolaires" are successful, and might well be imitated in many respects in our own country.

Vercelli. Before passing on to our own Act, a word or two is necessary about a free and compulsory system of feeding, which is in operation at Vercelli in Italy. Vercelli is just half way between Turin and Milan, and contains a population of between 20,000 and 30,000. On April 19th, 1900, a Committee was appointed to consider various educational matters, and amongst these questions was that of food. The Committee came to the conclusion that one most practical method of educating the children was to feed them. In their view it was not only a question of physical degeneration; it was a question of education in the highest sense, of education in the art of *savoir vivre*. When these meals were established the teachers were urged to inculcate habits of politeness and unselfishness; and since the teachers dined with the scholars, this was all the more possible.

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In a word, free meals were to be the means of instilling the sentiment of brotherhood. Rich and poor, teachers and taught would sit down together and eat the same meal, and thus in the words of the Commissioner already referred to, would "receive education in good manners, in their civic duties, and be made to understand that they all belonged to the same community, and had duties to perform towards that community." In the first instance the use of dry bread or sausage, and of cheese made the meal a comparatively cheap one, and dispensed with the necessity of knives, forks, or spoons; but as time went on the impression grew that a cold meal was neither so good, nor so educative as a hot meal, and yet at the same time it was not considered advisable to allow the rich to purchase the privilege of a hot meal. In fact children were not allowed to refuse to eat the meal under any condition, unless a medical certificate had been granted. About ten per cent. of the children, generally the richer children, obtained such certificates. The feeding of the children costs about £1,200 a year, but now that the idea of a hot meal has been adopted in one large new school it is probable that the cost will gradually increase. This being so the municipality may have to reconsider its position. At the present time the authority claims that it has greatly helped the attendance of the poorer children, that it has made education much more possible for them, and that it has encouraged the spirit of brotherhood between rich and poor, which otherwise would have been unknown.

Value of the English Act. Turning for a moment to our own country, and remembering the different conditions which prevail here in England,

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we naturally ask ourselves how far the new Act with its safeguards is likely to satisfy the community as a whole. It will not of course satisfy the social democrats who believe in "free maintenance." Neither will it quite satisfy the Socialists as a whole, who consider that the example of Vercelli should be followed. But if the Parisian experience is worth anything, the Act ought to supply what has been a great need in many towns. It will make the school canteen or restaurant a possibility everywhere and it will insure that no absolutely poor child goes unfed. It may be, and is, a dangerous thing to tamper with the responsibility of a parent, but it is a still more dangerous thing to neglect the life and the happiness of a child. And where the parent will not or cannot give the requisite nourishment, the municipality must step in and supply the lack. One great merit of this Act, when in operation, will be the teaching and training of a child in the matter of taste. At present it is a well-known physiological fact that the slum-stomach cannot accommodate itself in a moment to good, wholesome food. The child has been accustomed to tea and jam and pickles, and to food that is often more tasty than nourishing. It will now eat under public and *medical superintendence*, and gradually a pure and simple taste will be cultivated. In this way the body of the child will once more be built up and it will become fitted for the mental strain which is necessarily entailed by modern school life. Our neglect of this subject for the past twenty years has caused a vast waste of money and much mischief and suffering. It may be too late to undo all the harm that has been accomplished, but it is not too late by organised feeding to prevent such evils

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in the future generations of school children as we deplore in the present. Dr. Hall of Leeds on one occasion said ironically that he recommended the underfed child to play truant, in order that he might be committed to school on a magistrate's order. He stated that the advantages were a simpler education and three meals a day, with the prospect that at the age of twelve, a boy would weigh on an average 4 lbs. more than if he has been regularly in attendance at school and insufficiently fed at home. Dr. Chalmers, of Glasgow, says "we are a nation of workers but we cannot, any more than the Hebrews of old, make bricks without straw." This is what the schoolmaster has to do, under our present educational system, and it is this fatal shortcoming which the Act of 1906 is intended to remedy. If the remedy be effectual, (and as to that it is too soon to speak), we shall discover a great and important increase in the number of children who are able fully to benefit by the education received, and, later, a corresponding increase in the industrial efficiency of the country.

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CHAPTER VII.

THE CHILD WAGE-EARNER.

"'That a man should be capable of knowledge and remain ignorant,' said Carlyle, 'that to me is tragedy.' Yes, to the great reformer it was tragedy. To the 'employed' and injured child it is tragedy; but to the nation at large it may soon become clearer that the destruction of any of its children cannot, even from a national standpoint, be regarded as other than a tragedy."—MARGARET MCMILLAN.

WE have already dealt in a previous chapter with the striking change which has come over the mind of the English people during the last half century, with reference to its treatment of children as wage-earners. The right of the State as over against the employer has, again and again, been demonstrated and finally crystallised in Acts of Parliament. The right of the parent, sacred as it has been considered, has also been limited, though not so strictly.

At the present moment we have reached a point when we are faced with the difficulty of contending with a combination of forces—the right of the parent who wishes to eke out his wages by the labour of his child, and the right of the employer who contends that the Trades Unions have so raised wages in many directions, that the only

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remedy is a resort to the labour of women and children.

We are concerned especially in this chapter with the movement for restricting the employment of school children, or children who should be at school under any wise and well administered educational system. That the national conscience has been aroused strictly to define the limits within which competition for child labour shall have free play is obvious when we remember that only sixty years ago not more than ten Acts dealing with the protection of children had passed into law, whereas now considerably more than one hundred are upon the statute books; but yet, notwithstanding this fact, England is still behind some other nations, and there are many problems which still press for a solution in relation to child life.

The Earlier Factory Acts. The earlier Factory Acts nearly all contained some sort of regulation with regard to the education of the children who are thus employed, and as a rule some hours weekly were set aside for school work; but, as we have already pointed out, in most cases this meant little or nothing, and all these enactments were little more than the expression of pious opinions. The children still remained ignorant, demoralised and degraded. The employer whose first interest was to get all the work that was possible out of the child, and who, perhaps, held the view, in some cases quite honestly, that education unfitted the child for factory work, made no attempt to carry out the spirit of the regulations; and it was not until the Act of 1833, which limited the labour of children to forty-eight hours a week, and ordered two hours daily schooling, that any real beginning was made. Even then the

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inspectors of those days found it almost impracticable to enforce the Act. The children were taught in the factory itself, frequently by someone with the merest smattering of education, and this nominal instruction continued until 1844, when the half time system was introduced. Under that Act factory children from eight to thirteen were to work either ten hours a day on three days in the week or six hours every day, and were compelled to attend school on alternate days for three days except Saturdays. The Education Acts of 1870 to 1900 put a stop to the work of children during school hours, the Act of 1876 requiring that children under ten should not be employed at all. The Factory and Workshops Act of 1878 only allowed children between the ages of ten and fourteen to work as half-timers, and they were compelled to attend some "recognised efficient school," which meant, of course, a school fulfilling the requirements of the Education Acts of 1870-1873. At the age of thirteen a child that was certified to have reached a certain standard of proficiency might cease to be a half-timer. In that case it counted as a "young person," that is to say, a person between the ages of fourteen and eighteen.

Half Timers and Young Persons. At the present time we have three sections of child workers even under the most recent Acts: firstly, the half-timers proper, from twelve to fourteen; secondly, children between thirteen and fourteen who have qualified as young persons and work full time; and thirdly, young persons in the ordinary sense from fourteen to eighteen. Children and young persons under sixteen must obtain medical certificates before they can be employed in a factory, and the latest figures show

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that in 1906 385,415 children and young persons applied and were accepted, 201,143 being boys and 184,272 being girls. Of these, 79,158 between thirteen and fourteen were granted certificates for full time employment, while half-timers proper, in the last complete year, included 20,790 boys, and 21,259 girls.

Both the parents and the employer are liable for any breach of the regulations under the Factory and Workshops Act. The employer must obtain a weekly certificate from the teacher of the child's attendance at a school, and if the child should fail to make up the full number of attendances he cannot be employed the following week until he has made up the deficiency. Any employer who contravenes these regulations is subject to a fine not exceeding £3, or, if the employment is at night, not exceeding £5. The parent, on the other hand, who allows his child to be employed contrary to the Act, or fails to ensure its attendance at school, is liable to a fine of 20s.

The figures we have already stated are sufficiently appalling in themselves when we remember how our views of education have changed during the last few years, and the importance that is now attached to the later years of the child's educational life; but they do not cover child labour in workshops, nor the regular employment of children in domestic industries, so that they are only a very faint indication of the size and persistence of the problem.

Labour of School Children. A very large number of children are engaged either before or after school hours, on Saturdays and Sundays, " in the streets, in the fields, in shops or at home, for the longest possible hours, and on the hardest and

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most irksome work without any limit or regulation." *

This special question was brought to the notice of Sir John Gorst, then Vice-President of the Education Department, by the late Mrs. F. G. Hogg, Hon. Secretary of the Education Committee of the Women's Industrial Council. A Parliamentary inquiry was instituted in 1889, and the return which was obtained showed the number of children employed, the hours worked, their ages, occupations and the pay received. As we might naturally expect, the return was most incomplete. It did not include irregular employment, and it left out all who were not in receipt of wages; yet Sir John Gorst, whose interest in the work of children has always been most sincere, described the return as "a painful and sickening document, throwing a light upon the social conditions of large classes of the population."

These statistics were in truth "the arithmetic of woe," and in consequence further investigation was demanded. An Interdepartmental Committee was appointed in 1901, consisting of Commissioners representing the Home Office, the Board of Education, and the Board of Trade. The result of this Committee was a careful and exhaustive inquiry into a large number of cases, and demonstrated beyond doubt that a much higher percentage of juvenile labour was employed than the Parliamentary Return of 1899 seemed to imply; in fact, the Commissioners came to the conclusion that a minimum estimate of the numbers employed was 200,000, as compared with the 144,026 boys, and 34,000 girls of the return.

* Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Employment of School Children C.D. 849, (1901). Page 16.

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The various occupations carried on by the children were classified under four heads :—

(1) Children employed in and for shops.
(2) ,, ,, ,, street trading.
(3) ,, ,, ,, domestic work and home industries.
(4) Children employed in agriculture.

In the parliamentary return, about 76,000 were shown to be employed in shops, and the longest hours were worked by children engaged in this occupation. The inquiry also showed that 131 were six years or under, that 1,120 were between the ages of six and seven; 4,211 between seven and eight; 11,027 between eight and nine; and 22,131 between nine and ten. We are told that the educational attainments of these children were of the slenderest description, and what can be expected under such conditions! About twelve per cent. or 17,617 were engaged in street trading, selling newspapers, or hawking other articles. Their hours of labour varied from ten to seventy hours a week. In the cases presented to the Commissioners by the Public Control Officer of the London County Council, about sixty-six per cent. were shown to be working for more than twenty hours weekly, and these figures are borne out by an investigation into the case of shop, errand and barber lads, which was held by the Home Office in July, 1905, when considering the child employment bye-laws of the London County Council.

The L.C.C. Inquiry.

Dr. Thomas, the Assistant Medical Officer of the London County Council, gave the Home Office the result of an investigation into the physical conditions of 2,000 school children in fourteen

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different schools, and special attention was devoted to the condition of health of 384 wage earners in the boys' department. Of this number 233 showed signs of fatigue, 140 were anæmic, 131 had severe nerve signs, 64 were suffering from deformities resulting from the carrying of heavy weights, and 51 had severe heart signs. Barbers' boys were found to suffer most in physique, 72 per cent. being anæmic, 63 per cent. showing a severe nerve strain, and 27 per cent. severe heart affection. The long hours of Saturday work seem to affect them more than short hours on several days, and the diagram opposite will show the evils of these long hours of Saturday work, so far as heart signs are concerned :—(See page 117).

The Interdepartmental Committee* reported that street trading is carried on " by a worse class of children, and under worse moral influences, than any other, that it is especially detrimental to young girls, and that in large centres of population it requires special treatment." The evidence of the large towns was overwhelming in favour of legislation, and the Town Councils of Liverpool, Nottingham and Birmingham, together with the Manchester School Board, and most of the representatives of the newspaper interest, desired the entire prohibition of street trading by girls in view of the fact that they were demoralised by their street occupation, and were often launched upon a life of vice and crime.

Child Labour and Inefficiency.

The Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Physical Deterioration in 1904 contained evidence which proved that children engaged in

* Report of Interdepartmental Committee (1901), page 16.

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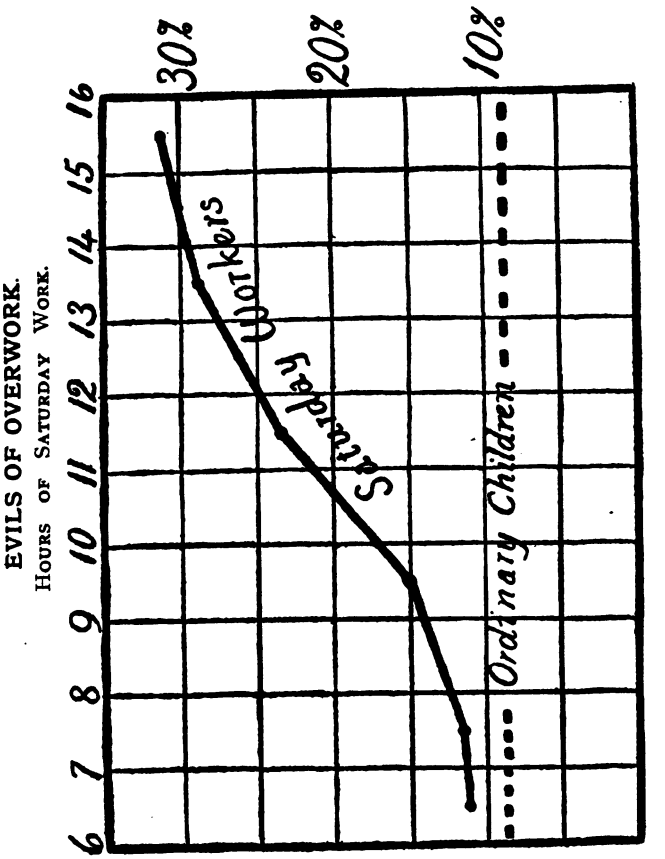

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these street occupations usually suffered in physique, and the President of the Royal College of Surgeons of Dublin alluded to the many cases of pneumonia amongst this class. One great evil which results from this life of street trading in childhood is the fact that it is fatal to industrial efficiency in after life. The witnesses who gave evidence before the Interdepartmental Committee agreed that "once a street trader, always a street trader." Of all the boys who leave our schools in the poorer districts of London, some 40 per cent. go immediately to casual employment. The ranks of the casual labourer, the unemployable, and the loafer, are recruited from this large body of child workers, and we cannot hope to deal successfully with the problem of the unemployed until we have eliminated this constantly deteriorating class of men and women who can trace their first steps on the downward path of inefficiency to errand running, wood chopping, street trading, or the many similar occupations which lead to no permanent or skilled employment.

Child Labour and Low Wages.

There is one other point with relation to child labour which we have not dealt with, and that is the question of wages. The economic aspect of this underpaid labour is hardly less serious than the moral and physical results which accrue. Going back to the Report already alluded to, we find that in 784 cases the payment was under 6d. per week; that in 47,273 cases it was between 6d. and 1s., while the average is about 1s., a pittance which is eked out by slender gifts of food and of clothing. The question may well be asked—Is the value of the work done by the child at all

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proportionate to the immense amount of harm that is inflicted upon the moral and physical nature? We must remember also that the wage of the child is only auxiliary to the wages of the parents, and although there are doubtless many cases in which the parents feel the severe pressure of want and stand in need of anything that the child can earn, it is, if they only knew it, an extremely short-sighted policy on their part, while in many cases the wage of the child acts only as an incentive to a parent to remain idle when he might be engaged in employment. Unfortunately it is too true that the children who work the longest hours, and whose work is of the most severe nature, are frequently not the children of the very poor. In such cases it is sheer selfishness on the part of the parents that condemns the child to premature wage-earning. But it is not only the exploitation of the child that we have to consider, although in the end this must mean the bankruptcy of national health. Under the existing social system the inevitable results attending such a policy are the maintenance of an unorganised and sweated industry, the lowering of wages and of the standard of living, and the creation of a large class of social inefficients. Cheap child labour, like all cheap labour, has a deteriorating effect upon both employers and employed, and not until it entirely disappears can our industrial life be fully moralised.

The Employment of Children Act, 1904.

The Employment of Children Act already alluded to, which became law on January 1st, 1904, does give some relief to the overworked child. Strictly speaking, all child labour below a

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certain age should have been prohibited; but the Act contains regulations which, if they were enforced, would have great value. The failure to enforce the regulations is due largely to the laxity of local authorities who have neglected to frame bye-laws, and who have also failed in some cases to put into operation even the statutory provisions of the Act.

The powers of Local Authorities under this Act are twofold :—

1.—The statutory provisions which render a certain measure of protection absolute and universal, and

2.—The local bye-laws which *may* be framed by Local Authorities to regulate the employment of children in their administrative areas.

Let us deal first with the statutory provisions. Section 3 of the Act provides as follows :—

" (1) A child shall not be employed between the hours of nine in the evening and six in the morning. Provided that any Local Authority may, by bye-law, vary these hours either generally or for any specified occupation.

" (2) A child under the age of eleven years shall not be employed in street trading.

" (3) No child who is employed half-time under the Factory and Workshop Act, 1901, shall be employed in any other occupation.

" (4) A child shall not be employed to lift, carry, or move anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the child.

" (5) A child shall not be employed in any occupation likely to be injurious to his life,

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limb, health or education, regard being had to his physical condition.

" (6) If the Local Authority send to the employer of any child a certificate signed by a registered medical practitioner that the lifting, carrying or moving of any specified weight is likely to cause injury to the child, or that any specified occupation is likely to be injurious to the life, limb, health, or education of the child, the certificate shall be admissable as evidence in any subsequent proceedings against the employer in respect of the employment of the child."

The local bye-laws which the Authority may frame deal with street trading and other trades which it is deemed desirable to regulate. These regulations may fix any age between eleven and sixteen below which street trading is illegal. They may prohibit altogether street trading by girls, they may require street traders to hold licences for their employment and to wear badges, and they may make other such regulations as they deem desirable within certain limits.

The Local Authority may again prohibit any occupation which it deems desirable, with the sanction, of course, of the Home Office. It may prohibit absolutely all juvenile labour by children under fourteen years, or it may limit the number of hours daily or weekly for such labour. In fact, an enlightened Local Authority can, at the present time, do an immense amount to lift the burden which rests upon the shoulders of these juvenile wage-earners, and in so acting it is really considering the moral welfare and the physical and industrial efficiency of future generations.

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Hints to Local Authorities.

The Committee on Wage-Earning Children strongly recommend that the following points should be carefully considered in framing bye-laws, and the suggestions made by the Committee are based upon the evidence which was submitted to the Interdepartmental Committee already referred to.

" (1) That street trading by girls under sixteen, and by boys under fourteen years, should be prohibited.

" (2) That the employment of children in certain undesirable occupations, such as in public houses, in small laundries, and in the lowest class of barber shops, should be stringently restricted—employments especially mentioned as being pernicious, by witnesses who gave evidence before the Interdepartmental Committee.

" (3) That the employment of children in all occupations should never exceed twenty hours weekly, of which not more than eight should be on Saturdays.

" (4) It would be advantageous if work before the school session, during the dinner hour, after eight o'clock at night, and on Sundays, could be prohibited.

" (5) It is very desirable that a register shall be kept of all places where children are employed in home industries.

" (6) Special care is needed that boys employed in shops shall not be permitted to carry heavy weights. The hours worked in this occupation are usually very long, especially on Saturdays.

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"(7) It is desirable that Local Authorities shall instruct teachers and attendance officers to bring to the notice of the Authority any cases in which the physical or mental well-being of the child is being injured by excessive strain, and if found necessary, special inspectors might be appointed."

The Committee on Wage-Earning Children also suggest that before proceeding to frame bye-laws the Local Authority shall obtain a return from every school in the district, giving particulars of all children employed for wages. It will then be within the power of the Authority to deal with all employment by licence, or only to restrict those which are undesirable. With each boy and girl duly licensed, and the name, address, school, occupation and hours of labour noted in the books of the Local Authority, any infringement of the Act could be discovered without difficulty.

A local authority could not do better than use the accompanying model basis from which to work.* It has been drawn up by the Committee on Wage-Earning Children, and represents a large amount of careful study and consideration.

A Scientific Educational System.

Whatever may be done in this direction, it will still be necessary to raise the age of school exemption and to adopt the co-ordinated methods of education that have, for so long, been in force in Germany. No boy or girl ought to leave school under the age of fourteen, while fifteen or sixteen would be preferable. Even when they have nominally left school the Education Authority

* See Appendix No. I., p 162.

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should still keep in touch with them, by means of compulsory evening schools or, perhaps still better, by making such arrangements with the employers of these boys and girls as will allow of their attending compulsory day classes such as are common in many German cities. This is, perhaps, a question which might more fittingly be discussed in a book dealing with our present educational methods, but it ought not to be forgotten that much of our inability to compete with foreigners in many directions is due to our failure to give a comprehensive and scientific education, while it is beyond all doubt that the ranks of the unemployable and the hooligan are recruited from this large class of half-educated and half trained children.

Child Labour and Unemployment.

If ever the unemployed problem is to be solved, we shall have to attack this question of child labour. A large part of the work done by unskilled boy labour leads to nothing permanent in the shape of employment. They are never taught a trade, and their parents, for a few shillings, thoughtlessly allow them to take any irregular, ill-paid job, requiring little knowledge or skill, that happens to come along. The vast majority of unemployed, unskilled labourers were boys who had no training whatever, and the first step in the solution of the unemployed problem, if we are to provide something more than palliatives, is to see to it that a boy learns a trade, and that he is not allowed to throw off too early the influence of the school, whether his parents wish it or not.

We have already pointed out that, under our present system of state control, the boy at the reformatory or the industrial school has a much

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better chance than many boys outside. They are well fed, well clothed, comparatively well taught, and kept under such control until sixteen or seventeen years of age. By that time they begin to feel the responsibility of life, and in any case are more able to discharge the duties that fall to their lot.

It is perhaps too much to expect that the ideal of William Morris :

> "No one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame,
> But each for the joy of working,"

can be achieved in this generation, nor is there any royal road which leads us to such a noble end. In any case, the first step along the pathway is to abolish the labour of little children, and to give our boys and girls a fair opportunity of developing to the fullest extent all the powers and talents which have been conferred upon them.

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CHAPTER VIII.

STATE CHILDREN.

"It is one of the elementary duties of civilised society to protect the rights of every citizen big and little, and to secure the performance of corresponding duty."—SIR JOHN GORST.

WE have already noted the great change in public opinion with regard to the treatment of the children of the State. The old horrors of less than thirty years ago have disappeared. The sale of boys and girls to employers and factory owners, and the system of apprenticeship, which was only another name for slavery, have happily long passed away, together with the criminal neglect, the starvation, the merciless torture of those "good old times."

Our public authorities to-day may be misguided, ill-informed, often unwise in their treatment of the children committed to their care, but they are no longer consciously inhumane to any great extent. Lack of knowledge combined with a desire to avoid the responsibility which the rearing and educating of these children naturally entail are the source of the worst evils by which we are confronted to-day. "Down with the rates" is the cry, forgetting that undue parsimony and neglect in the immediate present may mean a

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heavy increase in national and local expenditure in the future. The children of the State, who are often quite unfairly called pauper children, are, at last, beginning to be regarded as a valuable national asset, although here and there is a distinct disposition to hand over the responsibility to charitable and semi-charitable societies. Not seldom is it the case that the Guardians are anxious that destitute children shall be committed to industrial schools in order that a portion of the cost, at least, may be paid out of national funds instead of out of local rates.

Poor Law Schools Committee. In 1896 a Committee was appointed by the Local Government Board to inquire into the existing systems of maintaining and educating children who are under the charge of Boards of Guardians. This Poor Law Schools Committee recommended in its report that "in no circumstances should children above the age of three years be allowed to enter the workhouse, but that small homes outside the workhouse, adapted for the accommodation of not more than twenty children, should be provided for their temporary accommodation, and that meanwhile arrangements should be made by which they could be entirely separated from contact with the workhouse conditions." There seemed to be almost a universal agreement on the part of Poor Law officials and experts in Poor Law administration that the environment of the workhouse was such as tended to deteriorate the character of the children, and, at that time, it is beyond doubt, the provision for education, even of the most elementary description, was extremely defective. Inside the workhouse the children met and associated with adult paupers, some of

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whom were semi-criminal, and the influence upon them of association with men and women often degraded in character invariably left its mark upon the rest of their life. As a result of the Report, the recommendations of which were generally accepted, attempts were at once made to find accommodation for the children who, at that time, were retained in workhouses; yet even to-day 21,366 children out of 68,000 who are under the control of the Poor Law authorities are still being reared and trained in workhouses and workhouse infirmaries. The best efforts of kindly officials could only mitigate the evil of this life, with its long, dreary, monotonous hours spent in the workhouse atmosphere.

The attempt to substitute something better for these children than the workhouse has resulted in the establishment of institutions on the following lines:

(1) District Schools.
(2) Village Communities.
(3) Scattered Homes.
(4) A system of Boarding out.

A few words about each method will not be inappropriate.

1.—**District Schools.** Somewhat naturally the first plan for providing for these destitute children was that of building large barrack schools, situated in the country, amid healthy surroundings. Here the children were boarded, lodged, taught, separated from all contact with the adult paupers of the town. Playgrounds were provided and ample provision made for recreation. Many of these schools are, to-day, models of all that such schools should possibly be, although it is to be feared

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that some, at least, do not rank as first-class in administration or educational achievements. But the real defect of these schools, according to the Chief Inspector of the Local Government Board, an opinion also expressed by the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1888, is that they are often too large and overgrown in size, a fault due, as Mr. Knollys has said, "to a prevailing opinion on the part of the managers that a large school is cheaper than a small one."

Medical authorities seem agreed that a large school means an increase of danger, so far as the dissemination of infectious disease is concerned. The bigger the school, the greater the danger, is the general view; and even if this were not the case, it must still be contended that you cannot mass together in one building from 500 to 1000 children, without, at any rate, sacrificing much of the possibility of individual care and treatment, and without also running some serious risks in case of an outbreak of infectious disease.

The latest return of the Local Government Board (January, 1907) shows that, notwithstanding this consensus of opinion, London still possessed schools of this nature, accommodating 7,144 children, as compared with the provinces, in which 4,615 were accommodated, making altogether a total of 11,809 Poor Law children who are still reared in barrack schools.

Under the most favourable conditions, when the responsible officials are men and women of high intelligence and character, these schools may produce certain good results; but it is generally admitted by all who have a close acquaintance with the inner working of such institutions, that the children, except in special cases, tend to be lacking

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in general intelligence and power of observation, and are not quite up to the standard which they might easily have attained if they could have received more individual and separate treatment.

As the late Dr. Barnado said on one occasion: "The normal excitements of ordinary life—excitements which come to all children in the natural family, were the most healthy stimuli in the formation of character. The dull monotony of institution life, and its weary routine which reduces everything to the dead level of a colourless experience, has much to answer for."

It is quite possible, indeed it is certain, that in these large schools the children are far better fed and better clothed than they would be in their own homes, but on the other hand, it is essential that they should not be turned into machines, and the monotony of barrack life is rather apt to produce a deadening uniformity.

2.—Village Communities. The second method, of establishing the children in a village community, is, undoubtedly, an advance from the point of view of physical health. These village communities are little colonies of separate homes, and in so far as they give anything like home life, they must be an improvement, both on the workhouse and the district school. The first village community was established at Banstead in Surrey, and consisted of detached cottages, some for boys and some for girls. Each cottage for boys contained from thirty to forty, and each cottage for girls about two dozen. Boys' cottages are placed under the care of a married couple, the girls under that of a single woman or a widow. Boys under seven are put into girls' cottages, and it is obvious that if the cottage father and mother are of the

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right sort (and here comes in a great difficulty), they can take an interest in the individual children and by interest and affection fulfil to some extent the position which their natural parents should have occupied. The standard of health in these village communities is high, and there is little difficulty in eliminating the diseases to which children of this class are so subject. There are, however, some disadvantages which cannot be gainsaid. The village community in effect isolates these boys and girls almost as effectively as the barrack school. The colony is self-contained. There is no interest or contact with the everyday life of the world outside. In many cases there is no true home, and even when there is home life, this does not altogether atone for the feeling of isolation which the children must have in such a self-contained community.

Generally speaking too many boys or girls are assigned to each cottage, and the tendency is, perhaps, to increase the number and to enlarge the size of the building, so that the children never really escape from the feeling that they are treated on exceptional lines, and are not one with the rest of the world. It must also be remembered that these village communities are exceedingly expensive, both in initial outlay and in annual upkeep. The village community of the Bermondsey Guardians at Shirley, which accommodates 560 children, cost over £320 per bed, and the last year for which figures are available, 1906, the average cost of each child was 21s. 9d. per week.

3.—Scattered Homes. The next method of dealing with Poor Law children is the system of scattered homes, a system which was devised in

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Sheffield, largely as a result of the efforts of Mr. Wycliffe Wilson, notwithstanding the opposition, at the time, of the Local Government Board. This system was first tried thirteen years ago, and since that time some fifty-eight Unions have either made experiments in the same direction or have definitely adopted this method. The Sheffield Board of Guardians has recently published a historical sketch of its experience with regard to this system. All children under three years of age go at once to the children's receiving house, from which they are removed, as soon as medical inspection has been made, to a probationary home. From the probationary home they are taken, as soon as possible, to one of the scattered homes situated in different healthy suburbs of Sheffield. These homes need not be specially constructed, and they are, as a rule, indistinguishable from the ordinary houses in the vicinity. The children in each home are of both sexes and of all ages, from three to eight for boys, and three to thirteen for girls. The foster mother cooks, cleans, mends, washes and irons for the home with the help of the children, and with the assistance of a charwoman one day in a week. As far as possible, the cooking is done with the utensils and with the range that might be found in any working man's home. Nearly all the homes have their baby, to which the children become much attached. The boys and girls are sent to the ordinary public elementary schools in the neighbourhood, and attend on Sundays the neighbouring churches, chapels and Sunday schools. They share, in fact, all the life of the district in which they live, and under regular medical supervision with the additional advantages of being well-fed and well clothed, they grow up to be

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strong and healthy both physically and mentally. It was thought in Sheffield that the system might lead to neglect on the part of shiftless parents, and an increase in the number of children chargeable to the Board, but this has not proved the case. In fact, whereas in 1904 there were 354 children in the homes, in December, 1906, there were only 292. There does not seem to be any great difficulty in finding foster-mothers, and the majority of those who have been appointed have proved to be all that could be desired. The Sheffield Guardians have come to the conclusion that so far as numbers are concerned, the best results can be obtained when only ten or twelve children are placed in each home, and this is found not to increase the cost per head, which is much less than that of district schools or village communities.

4.—Boarding Out. In 1905, the Local Government Board issued a revised order which enables Boards of Guardians to board out children beyond the bounds of the Union. Up to that time the orphan and deserted children under the control of the Guardians when boarded out had been placed with foster parents in districts within the Union. The further power granted to the Guardians enables the children to be separated from the vicinity of relatives who might otherwise exercise a most undesirable influence. It gives them, in fact, a fresh start in a new neighbourhood. Undoubtedly, the boarding-out system is an extremely natural method of dealing with a deserted and homeless child, for, after all, if the foster-parent be wisely selected the home does seem to draw out all that is best in the child, while, of course, the general life of the village or district in which it is placed falls to its lot as one of the members of a family.

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The new order already referred to makes it possible for the Board of Guardians to pay 5s. a week for the maintenance of the child, and this enables people who would otherwise feel that the burden was too heavy, to receive such children without suffering meanwhile an appreciable loss. It may, of course, in some cases be a real benefit, and there is not the slightest reason for denying some profit at any rate to those who provide service and care for the children they have undertaken to foster. It is quite likely that before long the Local Government Board may sanction a sliding scale of payment as in Austria or Hungary, making in that way some allowance for the cost of living under varied conditions.

For the present, at all events, the boarding-out system costs less than any other which has yet been tried, as the following table will show. To board out a child costs rather less than half the sum required to support it in a Metropolitan Barrack School. Each child costs for its support on an average per annum :—

	£	s.	d.
*In a Metropolitan Barrack School ..	29	5	6
In a Metropolitan Village Community	33	5	3½
In the Ship *Exmouth* ..	32	10	5
In the Sheffield Scattered Homes ..	15	12	0
In Certified Homes ..	15	12	0
When Boarded Out ..	13	6	8

An argument, which has been so often used, that suitable homes amongst the working classes cannot be found falls to the ground when we remember that both Dr. Barnado's National Waifs'

* These figures are taken from the Report of the Poor Law Schools Committee, 1896.

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Association, and the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society have for years boarded-out some of their children in this way, while, at the present moment, 3,800 children are in their books as being so dealt with. So far as the Unions are concerned, in January, 1907, 1,853 were boarded outside the Union, and 6,806 within its bounds.

The real value of the boarding-out system is shown in the effect on the after life of the child, and especially of the girls, to whom cottage life affords a better training in domestic matters than the large barrack school. Not only have the charitable societies already alluded to adopted this system in measure, but in Scotland it is almost the universal method. In the Australasian colonies it has been adopted, while it is not unknown both in the United States and on the Continent. Care, of course, must be taken to see that too many homes are not provided in any one place, and that the foster parents are people of good character and worthy of the trust that will be placed in their hands. Unless these precautions are taken the Boarding-out system, so far from being the best, may be the very worst possible, leading to disgraceful scandals. When once the home is chosen, a regular and systematic inspection should follow, and it should be not so much of an inquisitorial character as with a view to giving help, assistance and guidance. Sir John Gorst has advocated the appointment, as Inspectors, of women with medical qualifications who could give medical advice when paying a visit to the home, and such a suggestion might certainly be adopted with valuable results.

It has been proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that if the right kind of care and training is given to the State child, it will become an effective and

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valuable citizen. Dr. Barnardo's experience showed that the gutter child and the street arab, boy or girl, who started life handicapped in every respect, under the influence of the education and training which he or she may receive in one or other of these homes, will, in all probability, grow up to fill a useful position. They are so well trained that they are capable of earning a livelihood, and an extraordinary percentage of the eight or nine thousand children in the homes pass out into the world and take their place as industrious, honourable men and women. A feat like this should make us ashamed to despair about even the most hopeless class of society in England to-day, providing that we are prepared to do our best by the children, and to assist them as speedily as possible on sane and scientific lines.

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CHAPTER IX.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS AND CHILDREN'S COURTS.

"In regard to both Pauperism and Crime 'Prevention is better than cure': and hence the utmost importance attaches to all methods of rescuing neglected youth, as early in their lives as possible, from circumstances which must necessarily tend to their ruin and render them pests instead of blessings to the community."

—WILLIAM TALLACK.

EVEN during the last few years a great change has come over public opinion with regard to the treatment of juvenile offenders—child criminals as they are sometimes called. A hundred years ago the child was placed in the same category as the adult in all cases of felony, and children frequently suffered the extreme penalty of the law for such offences as stealing or rick-burning. Previous to the trial such children were associated with the adults in the prisons; in fact, no distinction whatever was made, as a rule, between the vilest criminal of adult age and the child guilty of some petty offence. The results that would ensue are so obvious to us at the present day that we wonder how it is no steps were taken at that time. If these children became confirmed criminals, in nearly every case it could be traced to the

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contamination of prison life. No one seemed to care about removing the causes of crime or even whether the punishment inflicted did not create a greater evil than it removed. Unscientific, lacking in humanity, careless of all consequences was the prison treatment of those days.

Scientific Spirit in Treatment of Crime. Vast changes have been effected by administration in the working of the reformatory and industrial schools system since 1854, and the powers of magistrates allow of a very wide discretion in dealing with youthful offenders. Sometimes they bind over the parents and make them responsible; sometimes they inflict small fines on the offenders or order them to be birched; frequently they send them to reformatories or industrial schools, but in comparatively few instances, at the present time, do they commit to prison. We have begun to recognise, in fact, that the criminal habit of the young child is greatly different in degree, if not in kind, from that of the adult. With the child there is every possible hope that, rightly treated, it may grow up to become a good and useful citizen. With the adult there is much greater difficulty, and the methods have to be varied accordingly. But it certainly is a sign of the times that no one now despairs of the child. Even the children of vagrants and criminals, if they are prevented from drifting into the channels of crime—that is to say, if they are rescued at an early age from their parents or relatives who make a profit out of their vagabondage and petty thefts—can be freed from all the associations of early childhood, and in nine cases out of ten trained and educated out of these early evil habits.

The fact is that we recognise much more to-day

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the influence of environment. The conditions which create the child criminal cannot be changed by the child himself; they must be changed by the State. We see how these conditions have given rise to grave social problems, and in other departments of life we are striving to create a fresh environment for the millions of people who live in congested areas, and suffer the pangs of poverty. We have seen that the poor move in a kind of vicious circle, partly creating conditions of disease, vice and poverty, while in their turn they are partly manufactured by these same conditions, so that for their children there is little hope, unless they can be segregated altogether from the large class which ignorantly endures this form of existence. Science has taught us that in the great majority of cases, the juvenile offender is a boy or girl of poor physique and low mental development, underfed or wrongly fed from earliest years, condemned by the will of its parents or relatives to be a child beggar or street seller years before school age is over. In this way the child graduates in the worse forms of vice, as a proof of which we see that some sixty or seventy per cent. of the children committed to industrial schools have been taken from the ranks of these unfortunate child workers.

Reformatory Schools. The reformatory school sprang out of the experiment made by Mr. Sydney Turner, who, after an examination of the agricultural colony of Mettray for offenders under sixteen, induced the Philanthropic Society of that day to establish a reformatory school, and by the end of 1852, in his own words, "The foundations of the new system were securely laid." New schools on similar lines were estab-

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lished at six or seven other towns, and in 1854 Lord Palmerston carried the first Reformatory Schools Act, which gave power to the Court to sentence the juvenile offenders under sixteen to detention in a reformatory for not less than two or more than five years. Treasury contributions were authorised, and also compulsory payments from parents not exceeding 5s. per week. In 1857 local authorities were given the power to contribute, and inmates of the reformatory by permission of the authorities were allowed out on licence, when at least half of their sentence had been completed.

The weak point about the original Act was that the reformatory was preceded by fourteen days' imprisonment in gaol, and this fact was recognised in the Reformatory Schools Amendment Act of 1893, which did away with the necessity for the preliminary term of imprisonment. The Act of 1866 consolidated and amended previous Acts, while in 1891 the apprenticing or emigration of these children was made possible. In 1893 the minimum age for children not previously convicted was raised from ten to twelve. The period of detention was fixed at a minimum of three years, and a maximum of five, and no offender was to be detained beyond the age of nineteen years.

It is claimed for the voluntary system of the reformatory school that it has a great advantage in the freedom with which religious instruction can be given, and religious affections awakened. There is, obviously, in addition to this, a much greater elasticity about a system which is under voluntary management.

Reformatory schools now number fifty, are all

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under voluntary management, and contain about 5,000 inmates.

The Industrial School System. There can be no doubt that the industrial school system has been largely utilised as a means of clearing our streets of many of these juvenile offenders. The committals average about 4,500 a year, and the number of boys and children detained is over 25,000, at a cost of half a million sterling annually. An additional expenditure of £16,000 per annum has recently been sanctioned, to improve the condition of these schools, which are all managed either by local authorities or philanthropic associations, and which, in many cases, need further subsidy.

The Act which finally established such schools in England was passed in 1857. Parents' liability was limited to a contribution of 3s. per week. This Act was twice amended, and finally in 1866 the English and Scotch Acts were consolidated, being further amended by the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880. The legislation dealing with reformatories and industrial schools is very complicated, but in the latter case it may be said that any child under the age of 14 or less may be sent to an industrial school by order of the magistrates, if found begging, wandering without guardianship or means of subsistence, destitute with surviving parent in gaol, found in company of disorderly persons or criminals, together with a large number of other cases specified in the Act.

The great fault of the industrial school system is that insufficient distinction is made between the child who is found destitute, being an orphan, and the child who has committed some crime or

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whose parents have criminal propensities. Surely in the first case the boy or girl should be treated with pity and with sympathy, taught and trained to fight the battle of life, and, as Mr. W. Clark Hall has said, "not further handicapped by being made one of a class of which he ought to be ashamed."

Meanwhile industrial schools, as often as possible, should become cottage homes, and, until that is possible, the schools should be reduced in number. There are at the present time 142 industrial schools, seven established by county authorities, nine managed by education authorities, one by Birmingham, and 125 under voluntary control; 108 are in England and Wales, and thirty-four in Scotland.

The result of these schools and of the working of the First Offenders' Act of 1887, is that the number of juvenile prisoners has been enormously decreased during the last fifty years, not more than one-sixth now being committed as compared with that period. At the same time we have only to look at the statistics of offences committed by persons between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one, to see that we have by no means checked all the sources of criminality; and for reform in this direction, we have to note the effects of the Borstal experiment and similar experiments in other countries, notably Hungary.*

For the present we confine ourselves to the children. We have learnt that severity of punishment does not prevent crime, that abnormal conditions are, in the main, the cause of crime, that on economic grounds alone to treat little children

* For an account of the treatment of punitive crime in that country see "The Making of the Criminal," by Russell and Rigby.

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as criminals is nothing short of folly. As a result of these discoveries we are beginning to examine our methods, and to modify them, in accordance with the new scientific principle which has entered into all our dealings with the criminal population. The three reforms upon which all authorities are agreed may be classified as follows :—

(1) The arranging of separate places of detention for children awaiting trial.

(2) The growing custom of hearing the cases of children in a separate children's court.

(3) The appointment of probation officers which the new Act of 1907 has made possible. Let us look then at these three reforms, since they specially concern the juvenile offenders of to-day.

1.—Separate Places of Detention for Children. A matter of prime importance is the separation of the child from the adult at all stages, from the time when he is first arrested to the time when he is convicted or liberated. This separation must be made compulsory upon all authorities. When a boy or girl is arrested, they should be immediately taken to a remand or special home, until the cases can be heard, and should then be removed to the special court, which it is to be hoped will be set aside for this purpose. The value of these remand homes has been demonstrated again and again, and London, one is glad to be able to say, has not been altogether behind other places. At any rate, it has taken some steps in the right direction, for it has three remand homes in different districts—Camberwell Green, Harrow Road and Pentonville Road. Here are detained the boys and girls who are awaiting trial. In 1905, of the 4,484 children apprehended in the Metropolitan police district, 466 under ten years

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of age were sent to these homes. Some of these children are as young as six years old, and less than one per cent. of them were eventually sent to prison,—a fact which shows the remand home is a necessity, if we are to save ourselves from the risk of contaminating these little ones by the evil influence of our prisons. These remand homes were established mainly by the energy of Miss Baker, at that time chairman of the Metropolitan Asylums' Board, who deserves our gratitude for the determined way in which she set herself to the task of rectifying this mistake on the part of the police authorities.

2.—Children's Courts. We must remember that not more than a third of the boys and girls who are brought before a magistrate are guilty of any offence. Children are sometimes illegally employed by their parents, or they are found wandering or destitute, or they are living with persons of bad character, or their parents have contravened the Education Acts. In all such cases, they come before the magistrate, and it is clear that such children ought not to be placed in the waiting room with the adult prisoners, nor ought they to appear in the same court. They certainly ought not to be allowed to wait in court, until their cases come on, listening to details of adult crime that will pollute their youthful minds.

Special provision for such youthful offenders is now being made in many towns. In 1902-3, 1,034 male and 29 female prisoners, under sixteen, were convicted in the provinces, and the Commissioners of Prisons in their report state:*—"It is regretted that more than half of those under

* Report of the Commissioners of Prisons for the year ending March 1903. C. D. 1800, par. 35.

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sixteen were committed to prison in default of payment of a fine." No doubt, the magistrates had no choice in the matter, but for a young child to make acquaintance with the interior of a prison when the offence is trivial, and the judgment might be expiated by a money payment, is quite inexcusable.

The Commissioners go on to deplore the fact that some boys have undergone a large number of imprisonments, and are exposed to the public gaze in the open court. There is an overwhelming mass of evidence in favour of these separate courts of justice. The Secretary of the State Children's Association (Dr. Barnado's Homes), Mr. Thomas Acroyd, Hon Secretary of the boys' and girls' homes and refuges in Manchester, and the Secretary of the Reformatory and Refuge Union all agree in the wisdom and common sense of children's courts. In the United States children's courts were instistuted in Massachusetts as long ago as 1863, and gradually the system is being adopted in all parts of the country. Chicago, Buffalo, and Denver are only illustrations. In Canada the Youthful Offenders' Act of 1884 provides that any young person. under the age of sixteen, who is arrested, committed or convicted, shall be separated from older persons, and shall not be tried in the usual courts. The case of a youthful offender may also be investigated out of court. A special court of justice for children's cases has been established at Toronto. In South Australia the State Children Act of 1895 established a State Children's Council, a voluntary body, appointed by the Governor, consisting of six men and six women. The hearing and trial of juvenile offenders are by this act taken completely out of the pale of ordinary criminal juris-

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diction. New South Wales and New Zealand have both followed in the footsteps of South Australia.

Effect of Children's Court.

Both in Canada and the United States the adoption of the Children's Court has been followed by a marked diminution of juvenile crime. New York was even as recently as 1880 noted for its juvenile crime. With a population of a million and a quarter, at that time, 2,000 girls under twenty were convicted of crime in one year, and even this was an improvement on previous years, while in the same year over 1,600 boys under fourteen years of age were committed to prison. By the efforts of reformers the number of juvenile criminals was reduced by 50 per cent in less than twenty years. New schools and homes have been opened, and children's courts held in the special building which has taken the place of the court for adult prisoners. The children are heard separately, and no child under sixteen may be detained, confined in any room or court, or conveyed in any vehicle, which is used for adult prisoners. The S.P.C.C. has taken over responsibility for all juveniles under sixteen when arrested, all child vagrants, all children awaiting trial, and all delinquent children. The separate children's court was established in 1902, and in 1905 it dealt with over 9,000 cases, 2,000 of which were simply arrests for improper guardianship.

Twenty-one of the American States have now separate children's courts, and there are, generally speaking, several towns in each State employing this latest method of treating juvenile crime. Indiana has one, at least, in each of its thirty-two counties, Illinois the same, and Pennsylvania

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has a large number. Chicago was the first town in the United States to establish a separate juvenile court in 1899, and by means of these courts and probation officers, a saving was effected on trials in one year alone of £12,135; to which must be added the sum probably saved by placing the children under probation officers instead of despatching them to various institutions. Whereas in the olden times some 600 children were sent to prison annually, the number now is under twenty, and there is a saving of about 2s. 6d. a day on each child not sent.

Mr. C. E. B. Russell has said * of Boston, U.S.A.: "Boston is probably alone in one of its methods, in inspiring respect both in children and adults, who are brought before the Courts—a great point is made of personal cleanliness and neatness, and the necessary conveniences for securing these are provided, and their use enforced before the persons under arrest enter the presence of the judge."

It is an example which might well be copied in our own country, for the first essential of self-respect is cleanliness and neatness. It is extraordinary how quickly children will respond to influences of this sort, which have far more effect upon the youthful mind than severe punishment, or those drastic remedies which have been too long supposed to be necessary in dealing with child offenders.

The ideal court is a separate building, so that there can be no possibility of contact with adults; but in any case separate rooms, with, if possible, special entrances, should be set aside for the trial of the children, such as are now in existence in

* "The Making of the Criminal." London: Macmillan and Co.

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Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Birmingham, Manchester Bradford, Leeds and a few other towns. Birmingham, which has now decided to have remand homes, has set aside for the trials a room at the new Law Courts, with a fixed time and one or more special magistrates. All juvenile offenders under sixteen are heard in this Court, and as most of the offences are quite trivial, they are usually discharged with a few words of kindly advice, given by the presiding magistrate.

At the sitting of a Court at which the writer was present there were three magistrates, and the probation officers were assisted by voluntary workers, usually sent by some philanthropic society. The wife of one of the magistrates was present during the whole sitting, and took the keenest interest in the case of several girl offenders. Under her were helpers in various parts of the city, so that every case could be regularly visited and watched. The children or young boys were not placed in the dock, but stood in front of the dock, with their parents in court sitting near them. They were cautioned, fined or released on probation. The offences, as a rule, were comparatively trivial, and one could appreciate the feeling of the magistrate who let off one boy with a word of admonition, because it happened to be his birthday. The real safeguard against recommittal or a repetition of the offence is the friend, in the person of the probation officer or the voluntary helper, who visits and keeps an eye upon the youthful offender.

A return of the Home Office, moved for by Mr. Herbert Samuel on the 14th of March, 1907, gives, in a statistical form, for each petty sessional court for England and Wales, the number and

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disposal of children, and young persons under sixteen, who were charged with offences during the last few months of 1906, showing whether the defendants would probably have been released on probation under supervision, if such a system had been available; also what steps, if any, are taken to separate children and young persons in court from adult prisoners. This return shows that in all the smaller towns nothing has been done, chiefly because, in the view of the officer making the return, nothing was really required. In the larger towns, there is a distinct tendency to try the cases separately, or at a separate hour, although many do not make it a regular practice. In 297 Courts the children are always taken separately, while in 142 other Courts adults and children are kept apart. Very few have remand homes or separate accommodation for children awaiting trial. A common remark is "Kept in separate cell at police station." There seems a general disposition on the part of authorities* in the larger towns to utilise the services of probation officers.

3: **Probation Officers.** So far as the probation of offenders is concerned it is beyond doubt that if the child is released on parole, and the probation officer keeps in touch with him, both at home and in school, there is great likelihood that he or she will eventually grow up to be respectable and trustworthy.

The Probation of Offenders' Act, 1907, does not, of course fulfil all that is required, but it does allow (Section 3, Clause 2) of the appointment of special probation officers :—

* About 194 Courts emphatically approve and 128 others consider the system useful.

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"There may be appointed as probation officer or officers for a petty sessional division, such person or persons of *either sex* as the authority, having power to appoint a clerk to the justices of that division, may determine, and a probation officer, when acting under a probation order, shall be subject to the control of petty sessional courts for that division for which he is so appointed."

It is the duty of the Probation Officer to visit and receive reports, to see that the offender observes the conditions of his recognisance, to inform the court as to the behaviour of the offender, and to advise, assist and befriend him, and when necessary endeavour to find him suitable employment.

This Act supplements the Youthful Offenders Act of 1901, and repeals the Probation of First Offenders' Act, 1887; but a new Children's Bill is still urgently required, and such a Bill should contain clauses :—

(1) For the provision of remand homes in all large towns, so that children may not be detained in a police station or on police station premises when awaiting trial ;

(2) For the establishment of children's courts in all large towns, so that juvenile and adult offenders may be kept absolutely apart.

It is very advisable in the special courts referred to that the magistrate consulted should not be one whose sole experience has been with the adult criminal, for a tone of optimism and hopefulness is essential, and the reformative method must be encouraged. The juvenile offender should be treated on humane and rational principles. It is not sufficient to take punitive measures against him ; he must be reformed, and reformation will

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only be secured when the Judge and the Probation Officer alike take a more lenient and fatherly attitude of mind in dealing with these young people.

A recent Swedish writer, Judge Harald Salomon, of Stockholm, in his report to the Swedish Government on the juvenile court system, cites many examples from the cases heard in Chicago, Denver, Salt Lake City, and Indianapolis, and suggests three improvements for Sweden as a result of his experience, pointing out that although the Court in Sweden is not an ordinary court in any sense, but merely a sort of commission whose chairman is a clergyman, and the members of which are school teachers, etc., yet there is still need for

(*a*) The introduction of a system of supervision as in the United States.

(*b*) The raising of the age of criminal responsibility, and

(*c*) The fixing of certain responsibilities for treating the delinquency of children upon the adult.

Mental causes of Crime. There is one other point that is apt to be overlooked, and that is the necessity of differentiating between crime and disease. It is a well-known fact that a large number of people are punished every year for committing offences which are greatly the result of mental lesions. There were in 1906-7 462 persons in prisons classified as "unfit for prison discipline," which means that they are not really responsible for their actions, and ought not to be sent to prison at all. Yet, since doctors will not certify them as insane, they are constantly appearing before the magistrates.

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In a less degree, perhaps, children are similarly afflicted, and some proper provision ought to be made for separating off the irresponsible from those who are vicious in nature. Far more attention should be given to the medical side of crime (especially with reference to the young), than up to the present has been devoted to this branch of the subject; and in some large towns a doctor who is a specialist in mental cases, would be of immense assistance. But here, as with Probation Officers, are needed men who understand the characteristics and development of children and combine common sense with love and sympathy.*

It is to be hoped that we shall soon be able to say in the words of Judge Lindsay, of Denver: "It is the purpose of our law to protect children from being stigmatised by conviction with criminals, and both in letter and in spirit, constantly encourage them to personal work and effort."

* Much is expected from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Feeble-Minded which will be shortly issued (1908).

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CHAPTER X.

STATE INTERFERENCE—A STATE DEPARTMENT.

"For where'er the sun does shine,
And where'er the rain does fall,
Babes should never hunger there,
Nor poverty the mind appal."
—WILLIAM BLAKE.

IT seems clear from this very brief and rapid survey of the principal aspects of child life, as they present themselves to us to-day, that it will be necessary to revise, not only our view of parental responsibility, but also our conception of the duty of the State. At the very outset we may all agree that nothing which permanently saps or undermines parental responsibility is likely to benefit the community in the long run. We must either show that these new spheres of activity, this fresh conception of State parenthood, instead of destroying the feeling of parental responsibility, has, for the first time, made it a real and definite thing, or else we must adopt the view of a certain school of thought, which contends that the idea of State interference has already gone too far, and that it should be still more limited in its scope. As a matter of fact many of the measures which have been adopted to safeguard the life and health and well-being of children, so far from

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lightening the duty of the parents, have made that duty imperatively binding. Who will say that, at the beginning of the industrial revolution, the parent really recognised his duty towards his child, when he was willing, for a comparatively small sum of money, to consign him to the tender mercies of overseers and gang-masters? In many cases the parent had not the most elementary sense of duty towards the child, and so it was left for the State to take the child-chattel out of the hands of its father and to protect it, calling upon the parent by certain definite, fixed penalities to play his part in its maintenance and upbringing. Any sweetness and light that there may be in the homes of the working classes is largely due to the action of the State in curtailing child labour. It is in this direction that still further advances must be made in order that larger opportunities of education and of training may fit the child of to-day to be the responsible parent of to-morrow. The age limit of child labour should be raised from twelve to fourteen or fifteen, and every effort should be made, by means of the elementary school, by compulsory continuation classes, to maintain a hold upon the boy or girl, with a view to the training of the good citizen.

The work of compulsory medical inspection, which has now been inaugurated, may be the means, under wise administration, of revolutionising the attitude of the parent in relation to the health of the child. The inspection itself under the eyes of the parent, the visits of nurses and doctors to the home, pointing out the result of the medical examination and indicating the defects and ailments which have to be remedied, will, in the great majority of cases, be the first definite piece of instruc-

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tion and enlightenment the parents have received. The children of the poor suffer, not so much from criminal neglect, as from the ignorance of their parents, and that ignorance will never be removed until the State, through the local authority, comes into direct contact with the father and mother, and points out the way of physical salvation. So far from this implying a diminution of maternal love or of parental care, it is certain that it will call forth feelings that have been dormant for many years; and where such feelings cannot be aroused, surely it is proof positive that the time has come for the State to protect the child from the dangers imposed upon it by the ignorance or brutality of the parent. We need not stand in dread of this "over-parentage" on the part of the State if only the necessary steps are taken to create a civic conscience, and to educate by personal and individual dealings the parents who are most affected.

Voluntary Effort. It is to be hoped, that the local authority will not be content merely to utilise the paid helpers and officials that will be at its command. In nearly all towns there are a large number both of men and of women who are prepared to assist the Medical Officer of Health and the City officials generally, in all such citizen work as we have indicated. There are many towns in which Public Health Committees, Social Service Committees, Civic Leagues, City Guilds of Help, have called into play the voluntary activities of humane and sympathetic citizens. To ignore such valuable assistance would be short-sighted folly. The city cannot do its work effectively unless it has not only the sympathy and good-will, but the active co-operation of its citizens. In connection with housing, medical inspection, the checking of

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infant mortality, the feeding of school children and the many-sided problem of poverty, there will be ample opportunity not only for lady helpers and voluntary health inspectors, but also for the Public Health worker, whether man or woman, who has taken the pains to ascertain the facts, and to study the questions in all its aspects.

In relation to this point, we have already quoted the words of Mrs. Sidney Webb, who, after a careful personal investigation of the Huddersfield system, designed to check the infant mortality in that borough, said: "I am convinced that you have discovered the key to raising the condition of the poorer classes in this systematic and sympathetic health-visiting—*voluntary effort in a setting of municipal activity.*"

If this ideal can be carried out in all these cases where the State is called upon to interfere with the parent and the home, the result will be an unmixed blessing. It will recreate and renew the bond which should exist between parent and child, and finally it will mean a steady improvement in the physical, mental and moral health of the community.

A State Department. In closing this little book, it is necessary to recur once more to what has been already hinted at in several chapters, *viz.*, the need for a State Department, dealing especially with the life of the child. It is absurd that there should be many hundreds of thousands of children who look for protection and assistance to purely voluntary societies, however powerful and however well-managed. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children is at the present moment in a most anomalous position. Not only has it to find the money for the cost of this vast organisation

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with its numerous ramifications, but it also has to pay, as Mr. Clarke Hall has pointed out, the actual charge for bringing criminals to justice. The cost of the summons, the expenses of the witnesses, and the expense of medical evidence have all to be defrayed by the Society. In this case there can be no doubt that even if the State is unwilling to pay the cost of the ordinary summons, it should, at least, contribute the entire cost where a conviction has been obtained. Why should a voluntary society be called upon to do work which is obviously the duty of the community? The right attitude to adopt, an attitude which already has been taken up by the State in the case of reformatory and industrial schools, is for the present at all events, to subsidise existing institutions. It is just possible that such work is best done by private individuals, assisted by grants, either from the local or imperial exchequer, and if this be the case, there is no reason for not extending the benefits of this assistance to work which is on all hands recognised as being of national importance.

This much will probably be granted, but a further step is also necessary. One department of State must be made responsible for the protection and control of all the children of this country. Our British legislation has been so piece-meal in character, has grown up in such a haphazard and unsystematic fashion, that at the present moment it is quite customary to find two or three Government departments dealing with the same question. It is so with regard to the unemployed problem, and it is, if possible, still more the case with regard to children.

The Home Office exercises jurisdiction over all children, who are either offenders or the victims

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of offenders. Even the orphan who is destitute is regarded as a sort of criminal, and comes under the same control; while, if he is destitute but not an orphan, it is the duty of the Local Government Board to look after him. The Education Department deals not only with the education of the child, but with the work of feeding and medical inspection, and the Local Government Board again supervises the administration of the new Act designed to lessen infant mortality. There are, in addition, a vast number of other Acts, divided up between these three departments, and the time has surely come when one State department will be recognised as being in sole control of all sections of child life.

The Making of the Home. In the chapter on the home child, an attempt was made to point out the various ways in which the parents might, with care and knowledge, greatly improve the conditions which prevail at the present time in the homes of the poor, but it must not be supposed that the difficulties which surround the task of the average parent have been ignored. To be quite frank, it is not one State department, but every department and all local authorities that must work in unison to create this better environment for the rulers of the future.

It is a vicious circle in which we are moving at the present time, for the overcrowded and insanitary house, unemployment and casual labour, make any healthy life for the poor child an impossibility. It is neglected and underfed from its birth. The result is the children grow up little, if anything, better than their parents, notwithstanding the huge sums of money that have been lavished on our educational school system. They

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in their turn, even if they wish it, find it impossible to escape from such degrading surroundings, and in some cases intensify the evil that already exists.

"Character," says a well-known expert in the organisation of charity, "is the condition of conditions." This may be so; but while character is shaping its conditions, character is also being shaped by an environment, good or bad, which indelibly impresses itself upon the mind of youth. Just as the average child in a poor district, no matter what its opportunities for fresh air during the day, suffers from the vitiated atmosphere in an overcrowded one-roomed tenement, wherein it sleeps at night, so in a great variety of other ways, both mentally and morally, it will be affected by the sordid conditions and surroundings of his parents, just as they, in their turn, were affected when they were children. Character is made by a great multitude of influences, and we cannot expect the best results when the poverty and the ignorance of the poor produce the dire results that can be witnessed in the East-end. It is for that reason that the local authority and the State combined must, as we have shown elsewhere, attack the housing problem, and attempt to give to the poor, both in town and country, decent habitations. Experiments have been made, which go to prove that, provided you can give, even to those who are lowest in the scale of human life, proper accommodation, fresh air, pure water and the security which a regular wage, however small, is sure to import into their existence, a gradual improvement is witnessed in morals, manners and general conduct. The upward path must be made as easy as possible for those who have the slightest desire to better their position. A real home must

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be placed within the reach of everyone whose ideals have not been utterly destroyed. There are comparatively few parents who cannot be appealed to through their children; but the hard and fierce struggle for daily bread, the drab monotony which surrounds the life of the poor, blunt their sensibilities and dwarf the better side of their nature, which under happier circumstances would blossom in parental love. The making of the healthy home, therefore, will be one of the first steps towards the making of the physically and mentally healthy child. A certain section of Socialists, not, we think, an increasing number, would have us surrender the family and the home as being incompatible with the further progress of the State and that social unity, which, to their mind, is essential. Their belief is founded on a misconception of human nature, which must have its central affection not in some vast abstraction like the State or the commonwealth, but in those who are near and in immediate contact. Instead of making it easy for the parent to divorce himself from responsibility for his children, the community must point out to him how essential it is to the welfare of the State, as a whole, that he should minister to their wants, and that he should play his part in their training and upbuilding.

"The family," as Mazzini says, "is the heart's Fatherland," and the relationships which every family sets forth are perhaps the dearest and best heritage of the human race. And yet the whole of our life to-day, owing to the vast changes which have taken place in industry, is making family life more and more difficult. The millions of London are being destroyed by sheer weight of numbers, and as our civilisation becomes more

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complex, and as the pressure upon the poor becomes heavier, all hope of a simple family life tends to disappear. It is for this reason, if for no other, that the state must come to the rescue, and give back to the working classes the home of which they have been despoiled, apart from which the real sanctity of life must inevitably perish.

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APPENDIX I.

The following draft may serve as a model of the Bye-Laws which might be made.

(THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN FOR WAGES).

Bye-laws made for the district of..... by the.....for the regulation of the employment of children, pursuant to the Employment of Children Act, 1903 :—

(1) In these bye-laws the term "district" means the district of..... The term "child" means a child under fourteen years of age residing or employed in the district.

The term "employer" means any person who employs a child in any labour exercised by way of trade, or for the purposes of gain, whether the gain be to the child or to any other person.

The term "local authority" means the local authority for the district, acting for the time being under the Employment of Children Act, 1903.

(2) No child may be employed unless it has obtained a licence from the local authority.

(3) Every licence issued will specify the number of hours per day and per week during which the child may be employed, and if that number is exceeded the employer is liable to the same penalties for illegal employment as if the licence had not been issued.

(4) The licences will be of five classes :—

(*a*) Those enabling a child to be employed in domestic service or household affairs.

(*b*) Those enabling a child to be employed in or about retail shops, or in any em-

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ployment the lawful period whereof is regulated by Act of Parliament.

(*c*) Those enabling a child to be employed in any trade or industry carried on in a private house or private room by the family dwelling therein, or by any of them.

(*d*) Those enabling a child to be employed in agriculture or in the open air in connection with the sports or recreations of the employer, or in other outdoor occupations, with the exception of street trading.

(*e*) Those enabling a person to be employed in street trading between the ages of fourteen and sixteen.

(5) In giving or withholding any licence, the local authority will have regard to (1) the physical condition of the applicant, (2) his educational attainments, and (3) whether the proposed employment is beneficial and necessary.

(6) Every person receiving a licence enabling him to trade in the streets will receive a badge, which he must always wear when engaged in his employment.

(7) Licences will be issued for one year only, and may be revoked at any time if any of the conditions are broken.

(8) Every employer employing a child contrary to these bye-laws is liable upon conviction to a penalty not exceeding forty shillings for the first offence, and for a second or subsequent offence to a penalty of five pounds. Employment of Children Act. (Section 5 (1).)

(9) If any parent or guardian of a child or other person under the age of 16 has conduced to the commission of the alleged offence by wilful default, or by habitually neglecting to exercise due care, he shall be liable on summary conviction to the like fine. (Section 5 (1).)

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(10) If any person under the age of 16 contravenes the provisions of any bye-law as to street trading made under this Act, he shall be liable on summary conviction to a fine not exceeding twenty shillings, and in case of a second or subsequent offence, if a child, to be sent to an industrial school, and, if not a child, to a fine not exceeding five pounds. (Section 5 (3).)

(11) Any person refusing admission to an officer authorised to enter any place where there is reason to believe that any child is illegally employed, or obstructing him in the discharge of his duty, is for each offence liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding twenty pounds. (Section 8).

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APPENDIX II.

BIBLIOGRAPHY ON CHILD LIFE.

Compiled for the author by the British Institute of Social Service, December 14th, 1907.

This list is not complete, but has been compiled with a view to indicating the main sources of information available. Only works published in the United Kingdom are included, and of these, books on child study and the theory of education are omitted. Articles in magazines, works not wholly devoted to the subject under consideration, and pamphlets have not been referred to as a rule, but in some cases it has seemed desirable to mention them. The list may be supplemented by inquiry at the British Institute of Social Service, 11, Southampton Row, London, W.C.

Government publications are placed first in each group, and may be obtained from Messrs. Wyman & Sons, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.

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INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM CERTAIN POLICE FORCES AS TO THE FREQUENTING OF PUBLIC HOUSES BY WOMEN AND CHILDREN. 13 pp. 1907. (Cd. 3813). 2d.

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REPORT ON THE BYE-LAWS MADE BY THE LONDON COUNTY COUNCIL UNDER THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN ACT, 1903. 28 pp. (1906). (Cd. 2809). 3d.

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REPORTS DEALING WITH REFORMATORY AND INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS. London County Council. (Latest: for 1905-6.) Lond. King. (1907). 6d.

REPORT WITH REGARD TO INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, 1870 to 1904. London County Council. 56 pp. Lond. King. (1904). 1s. 6d.

JUVENILE OFFENDERS. W. D. Morrison. 317 pp. Lond. Unwin. (1896). 6s.

MAKING OF THE CRIMINAL. C. E. G. Russell and L. M. Rigby. xii., 362 pp. Lond. Macmillan. (1906). 3s. 6d. net.

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APPENDIX III.

SOCIETIES DEALING WITH CHILD LIFE.

List of the leading organisations having the welfare of children, in its various phases, as their main object.

Societies dealing solely with matters of ordinary curriculum, examinations, religious or ethical instruction, etc., in schools, or organised only for maintaining such institutions as orphanages, homes, hospitals, etc., or purely for purposes of relief, such as the provision of free meals. Those only Metropolitan or local in scope, or dealing merely incidentally with child life, have been omitted.

Compiled by the British Institute of Social Service, for Mrs. Percy Alden, December 11th, 1907.

After-Care Committee for Blind, Deaf and Crippled Children, 75, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association, 55, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

Art for Schools' Association, Passmore Edwards Settlement, Tavistock Place, London, W.C.

Association for the Oral Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, 11, Fitzroy Square, London, W.

Board of Hygiene and Temperance. Hon. Organising Sec., Miss St. John Wileman, 11, Chandos Street, Cavendish Square, London, W.

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Boys' Brigade, 162, Buchanan Street, Glasgow.
Boys' Life Brigade, 56, Old Bailey, London, E.C.
British and Foreign Blind Association for Promoting the Education and Employment of the Blind, 206, Great Portland Street, London, W.
British Child Study Association. Secretary, Miss Mary Louch. Colbury House, Totton, Hants.
Catholic Boys' Brigade, Hon. Sec., Rev. F. Segesser, 1, Parker's Row, Bermondsey, London, S.E.
Childhood Society, Parkes Museum, Margaret Street, London, W.
Children's Aid Society, 117, Victoria Street, London, S.W.
Children's Farm Home Association, 101, Eaton Square, London, W.
Children's Happy Evenings Association, Hon. Sec., Mrs. Bland-Sutton, 47, Brook Street, Grosvenor Square, London, W.
Children's Protection League. Hon. Sec., Miss Rose Harrison, 8, More's Gardens, Chelsea, London, S.W.
Church of England Temperance Society, Junior Division, Deansgate, 4, The Sanctuary, Westminster, London, S.W.
Church Lads' Brigade, Aldwych House, Catherine Street, Strand, London, W.C.
Committee for Physical Welfare of School Children, Secretary: William Sanders, 23, Bride Lane, London, E.C.
Committee on Wage-Earning Children. Hon. Sec., Miss N. Adler, 6, Craven Hill, Hyde Park, London, W.
Froebel Society, 4, Bloomsbury Square, London, W.C.
Girls' Life Brigade, 56, Old Bailey, London, E.C.
Guild of the Brave Poor Things. Hon. Sec., Mrs. C. W. Kimmins, Dame Armstrong House, Harrow-on-the-Hill.
Infants' Health Society, Secretary, R. R. Garratt, 120, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

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International Congress for the Welfare and Protection of Children. Secretary of the British Section, W. G. Lewis, 8, Wells Street, Grays' Inn Road, London, W.C.

Jewish Lads' Brigade, 21, Bucklersbury, London, E.C.

Ministering Children's League, 83, Lancaster Gate, London, W.

Mothers' Union, Church House, Westminster, S.W.

National Association for Promoting the Welfare of the Feeble-Minded, 72, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London S.W.

National British Women's Temperance Association: Department for Scientific Temperance Instruction in Schools. Correspondent, Mrs. Osborn, Llanberis, West Cliff Avenue, Southend-on-Sea. Department for Prevention of the Sale of Intoxicants to Children. Superintendent, Miss H. M. Johnson, 17, Rutland Avenue, Sefton Park, Liverpool.

National Conference on Infant Mortality: Secretary of the Executive Committee, John J. McIntyre, Town Clerk's Dept., Glasgow.

National Education Association, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, London W.C.

National Health Society, 53, Berners Street, Oxford Street, London, W.

National Home Reading Union, Surrey House, Victoria Embankment, London, W.C.

National Institution of Apprenticeship. Hon. Sec., J. S. Ballin, 5, Clarence Terrace, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

National League for Physical Education and Improvement, 49 and 50, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

National League of Workers with Boys. Hon. Sec., J. H. Whitehouse, Toynbee Hall, London, E.

National Society for the Employment of Epileptics, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.

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National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Leicester Square, London, W.C.

National Society of Day Nurseries. Hon. Sec., Miss Cecil Henlam, 11, Kensington Court Mansions, London W.

National Special Schools Union. Secretary, Mrs. Clark, 101, Colbourne Road, Balham, London, S.W.

Parents' National Educational Union, 26, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Permanent Council of the International Committee on School Hygiene, Royal Sanitary Institute, Margaret Street, London, W.

Pure Literature Society, 11, Buckingham Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Ragged School Union and Shaftesbury Society, 32, John Street, Theobald's Road, London, W.C.

Recreative Evening Schools Association, 37, Norfolk Street, Strand, London, W.C.

Reformatory and Refuge Union (including the National Association for Certified Reformation and Industrial Schools), 117, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Society for Promoting Co-Education, 121, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

Society for the Reform of School Discipline, Secretary, L. W. Williams, 3, Park Terrace, Crosshill, Glasgow.

Society for the Study of Disease in Children. Editor of Reports, George Carpenter, M.D., 12, Welbeck Street, London, W.

State Children's Association, 58, Old Broad Street, London, E.C.

Tribune General Committee on Child Protection, 23 and 29, Bouverie Street, London, E.C.

United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, 59 and 60, Old Bailey, London, E.C.

White Cross League, 7, Dean's Yard, Westminster Abbey, S.W.

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